



Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

17 February 1989

ALBANIA

Malile Pays Unofficial Visit to Greece [Tirana Radio]	1
Kosovo Paper Cited on Demographic Question [ATA]	1

BULGARIA

Lukanov Holds Meeting With EEC Envoys in Sofia [BTA]	2
Mladenov Confers With Spanish Ambassador [BTA]	2
Delegation Received by Norwegian Prime Minister [BTA]	2
Cultural Agreement Signed With UK in Sofia [BTA]	3
Consortium With Austrian Firms Established [BTA]	3
Bulgarian-Lebanese Friendship Society Formed [Sofia Radio]	3
Zhivkov Congratulates Iranian Leaders [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 11 Feb]	3
Regulations on Economic Activity Decree Adopted [BTA]	3
Unfair Expropriation of Property Discussed	4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Numerous Bomb Threats From Anonymous Callers	5
Police Official Comments [CTK]	5
Bomb Threat Caller Arrested [CTK]	5
Adamec, Delegation Depart for Soviet Union [CTK]	5
Communique Issued on Plenary Meeting [RUDE PRAVO 10 Feb]	5
Report on Central Committee Presidium Session [RUDE PRAVO 11 Feb]	7
By-Elections Scheduled for Federal Chambers [Prague Radio]	8
Armaments Plant Announces Restructuring Plans [CTK]	8
Impact of Arms Cuts on Industry Jobs Noted [PRACE 14 Feb]	8
Fojtik Addresses Media Officials 9 Feb [RUDE PRAVO 11 Feb]	9
Fojtik Offers Comments on Charter 77 [Vienna VOLKSSTIMME 15 Feb]	10
Hruskovic Criticizes Building Industry [RUDE PRAVO 10 Feb]	11
Vladimir Janku Interviewed on Church Meeting [RUDE PRAVO 10 Feb]	11
Bush Criticized on Relations With USSR [Zagar in Bratislava PRAVDA 11 Feb]	12
MSZMP Favors Creation of 'Socialist Pluralism' [Bratislava PRAVDA 13 Feb]	12

HUNGARY

Grosz Speech at Central Committee Session [NEPSZABADSAG 13 Feb]	14
Pozsgay Urges MSZMP To Change 'Style' [MTI]	22
Imre Pozsgay Interviewed on Party Plenum [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 15 Feb]	22
Nemeth Holds Discussions While Touring District	24
'Avoidance' of Party Split [MTI]	24
Discusses 1956 Events [MTI]	24
Social Democratic Party Holds Rally [MTI]	24
Israeli Religious Affairs Minister Concludes Visit	25
Normalization of Ties 'Expected' [MTI]	25
Holds News Briefing [Budapest Radio]	25
Leaders Greet Iranian Counterparts on National Day [NEPSZABADSAG 11 Feb]	25

POLAND

Massacre by Soviets in World War II Reported [PAP]	26
Further Reportage on Strikes, Settlements	28
16 Feb Strike Status [PAP]	28

Warsaw TV Reports Strikes	28
Further on Strike Status [Warsaw Radio]	28
Wloclawek, Lodz Strikes End [PAP]	29
Lublin Transport Strike Ends [PAP]	29
Commentary on Consequences of Continuing Strikes [Krol on Warsaw Radio]	29
Rakowski Interviewed on Roundtable, Solidarity [Paris LE FIGARO 14 Feb]	29
Ciosek Queried on Results of Roundtable Talks [Warsaw TV]	31
Walesa Holds Roundtable News Conference [Warsaw Radio]	34
Roundtable Team Meets on Pluralism Issue	35
Communique Released [PAP]	35
Government Official Comments [PAP]	35
OPZZ Spokesman Views Communique [PAP]	36
Solidarity Spokesman Remarks [PAP]	36
Roundtable Team for Farming Meets, Holds Debate	37
Mlynarczyk Reviews Session [PAP]	37
Team Members View Talks [PAP]	37
UPP Envoys on 'Farming' Talks [PAP]	37
Rakowski Holds News Conference on Paris Talks [PAP]	38
Journalists Association Protests Restrictions [Warsaw TV]	40
Colonel Queried on Armed Forces Reorganization [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 13 Feb]	40

ROMANIA

Andrei Receives Chinese Deputy Trade Minister [AGERPRES]	44
Initiatives To Develop Balkan Cooperation Aired [AGERPRES]	44
Daily Marks 1933 Demonstrations Anniversary [SCINTEIA 16 Feb]	45

YUGOSLAVIA

17 Feb LCY Central Committee Plenum Under Way	46
TANJUG Preview	46
Session Opens [Belgrade Radio]	46
Dizdarevic Quits LCY Post [TANJUG]	46
Resignation Accepted [TANJUG]	46
Matic Leaves Central Committee [Belgrade Radio]	46
20th Plenum Failed To Halt 'Downfall' [Biscevic in VJESNIK 12 Feb]	47
Sipovac, Korosec Disagree on Congress 'Name' [BORBA 15 Feb]	49
Kucan Gives Recommendations on 14th Congress [TANJUG]	49
SFRY Assembly Explains Delays in Sentences [BORBA 15 Feb]	50
Assembly Members Debate Kosovo Situation	50
Brocilo Cites Emigration [TANJUG]	50
Additional Report [TANJUG]	52
Zemljarić Makes Remarks [TANJUG]	52
SFRY Presidency Discusses Economic Trends [Belgrade Radio]	54
Official Speaks on Possible ROK Relations [Seoul KYONGHYANG SINMUN 15 Feb]	54
Social Democratic Alliance's Tomsic Interviewed [Vienna Radio]	54
Social Democratic Alliance Holds First Meeting [Belgrade Radio]	55
Over 1,000 Attend [Zagreb Radio]	55
Tomsic Concedes to Police [Vienna TV]	56
Slovene SAWP Finds Alliance 'Unacceptable' [BORBA 15 Feb]	56
Slovene LC Elects Candidates for LCY Posts [TANJUG]	57
Serbian LC Moves To Fill Party Vacancies [BORBA 15 Feb]	57
Serbian SAWP Nominates Presidency Candidates [TANJUG]	58
Croatian LC Votes on LCY Candidates Detailed [TANJUG]	58
Agrokomerc Workers Outside Bosnian Assembly [TANJUG]	59
Kranj Construction Workers Stage Strike [TANJUG]	59

Malile Pays Unofficial Visit to Greece

AU1602200089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Alfred Gurashi telephone report on visit to Ioannina, Greece, by Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile—recorded]

[Text] At the invitation of Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, paid a friendly and unofficial visit to Ioannina.

He was welcomed at the Kakavia border checkpoint by Karolos Papoulias. The welcoming group also included Aristidhis Kasandaris, secretary general of the Epirus districts; Dhimitris Ikonomo, chairman of the Ioannina Prefecture; Spiridhon Dhokianos, ambassador of the Hellenic Republic in Tirana; Aleksandros Vaiennas, departmental director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Coordinator of Balkan Cooperation; Ioannis Burloioannis, departmental director for Balkan Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other Greek personalities.

Accompanied by Karolos Papoulias, Reiz Malile made a boat trip on the beautiful lake of Ioannina and visited the tourist island on the lake, where he was greeted by the inhabitants. Together with their collaborators, the two ministers had lunch at a restaurant on the island. Izedin Hajdini, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, was also present.

This afternoon, at the Xenia Hotel in Ioannina, Reiz Malile and Karolos Papoulias exchanged opinions on the positive trends in the relations between our two countries and their further expansion in the economic, trade, cultural, sports, and other fields of mutual interest. They also discussed Balkan cooperation, expressing their appreciation for the constructive spirit of the meeting of Balkan deputy foreign ministers, which was held recently in Tirana, and both sides stressed their respective governments' desire to deepen this positive process. The two ministers also stressed the imperative need for the relations between the Balkan countries to develop on the basis of good-neighborliness and said that the presence of minorities and nationalities in the region should serve as a factor of friendship between the peoples. The two ministers also discussed other international political problems, particularly questions pertaining to the Mediterranean, the departure of foreign fleets, and the consolidation of peace and security in the area.

Kosovo Paper Cited on Demographic Question

AU1602150889 Tirana ATA in English
1029 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the press review]

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT reprints a writing extracted from the

newspaper RILINDJA of Pristina, of January 21, 1989 under the title "The Demographic Problems of Kosovo and their interpretation." It says among others:

In the attacks against everything in Kosovo and against the Albanians, childbirth has become the target of the attacks from the local community down to the federation. The Albanian woman is contemptuously called "a washing machine" and is treated in the same way both in the street gatherings, and in the political forums, scientific conferences, mass media, etc. The Albanians are being counted: Hypotheses are drawn in all the levels of the society what will be the number of the Albanians after 20, 50, and 100 years, that they will occupy the Serbian and Yugoslav space and will threaten the demographic, political, and national prosperity of the Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Yugoslavia, and of the Balkans as well. As it seems, Yugoslavia will be the only country in the world where the born and unborn children of a nationality will be declared nationalists.

The neo-Malthusian thesis is already accepted as a way of solving the problems of Kosovo and the Albanians. Serbia is imposing on Yugoslavia the thesis on the creation of the "ethnically pure Kosova," the "Albanization of Kosovo," "the second Albania in Serbia," and "the Great Albania," allegedly as an old idea since the League of Prizren (1878) and the Bujan Conference (1944). According to the 1981 registration, 3,331 persons have come to Kosovo from abroad, out of them from Albania [sentence as received] and of them only 704 persons reside in this region today, therefore the figure of 300,000 emigrants from Albania emphasized by common people down to the federation level, is a lie exaggerated 426 times.

No one is worried by the fact that the Albanians are running away from Macedonia to Turkey, from Macedonia and Montenegro to the United States, and from Kosovo to the European developed countries never to return again. According to the data of the Association of Endangered Peoples in Gettingen (FR of Germany), these last 15 years for economic and political reasons about 250,000 Albanians have deserted their territories in Yugoslavia.

Under the slogan of banning the Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate, and the Albanians' "pressure" on them, Serbia, as well as many federal forums, treating Kosovo as a special zone, try to solve the vital problems to the detriment of the interests of Kosovo and the Albanians, by drafting special laws (on the language, the flag, trade etc.), always neglecting the Albanians' opinion, and applying against them the methods of lynching and differentiation of inquisitional character.

Lukanov Holds Meeting With EEC Envoys in Sofia
AU1602205489 Sofia BTA in English
2014 GMT 16 Feb 89

["Bulgaria, EC Seek Business Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, today had a working meeting with the ambassadors in Sofia of the member countries of the European Community.

In connection with the forthcoming official negotiations between Bulgaria and the EC about the signing of a trade and economic cooperation agreement, Mr Andrey Lukanov set forth this country's position and approaches, making a special point of the new conditions for economic activity, applying to foreign partners as well, on the basis of State Council Decree No. 56.

Mr Andrey Lukanov familiarized the ambassadors with the new rights and opportunities of the companies and the other economic organisations to conduct independent market-oriented activity and to take part in foreign economic relations in their own right. The participants in the meeting discussed the opportunities for foreign corporate bodies and natural persons to do business here independently or jointly with Bulgarian companies.

Mr Andrey Lukanov singled out the desire for a closer integration with the world economy as an underlying principle of the economic reform under way in Bulgaria.

The EC countries' ambassadors showed marked interest in the economic restructuring in progress and pointed out that the practical measures which have been undertaken will enable Bulgarian and foreign companies to engage in active and varied forms of business cooperation, including joint investment, technological and marketing teamwork. They expressed their governments' readiness to help the promotion of such cooperation at the government level, too. It was emphasized that the signing of a Bulgarian-EC agreement and the talks on Bulgaria's accession to GATT will be positive steps in this direction.

Mr Joaquin Perez Gomez, the ambassador of Spain, which holds the EC Presidency until mid-1989, thanked for the working meeting and for the candid and constructive discussion.

Mladenov Confers With Spanish Ambassador
AU1302191689 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 13 Feb 89

["Issues of Mutual Interest"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, the foreign affairs minister received Mr Joaquin Perez Gomez the Spanish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

They exchanged opinions on the further advance in relations between Bulgaria and Spain and expressed mutual agreement for the need of continuation of the top level political dialogue, for expansion of trade and economic cooperation and further development of the cultural exchange.

In the talks they considered in detail a wide range of issues of mutual interest on the development of contacts between the two largest economic organizations in Europe: the C.M.E.A. and the E.E.C. and the further progress in Bulgaria's cooperation with the European Community. The great significance of these contacts in the Helsinki process was stressed, for the solution of a number of global and regional issues.

In relation with that the two sides stressed the significance of the Vienna agreements and the needs for their fruitful development at the forthcoming all-European forums.

Delegation Received by Norwegian Prime Minister
AU1602175389 Sofia BTA in English
1702 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation which arrived in Norway on Monday had a series of meetings with parliamentary and government functionaries.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and leader of the delegation, was received by King Olav V, to whom he conveyed greetings from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

There was an extensive discussion with Mr Josef Benkow, president of the Storting, and with a number of representatives at the Storting. The two sides exchanged experience in parliamentary activity.

Bilateral relations and the all-European process were discussed at a meeting with Ms Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway, and Mr Thorvald Stoltenberg, minister of foreign affairs. It was pointed out that the two countries are willing to promote their economic and cultural relations and to contribute to the assertion of the new political climate in Europe and in the world in the spirit of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

The Bulgarian parliamentarians informed the Norwegian side about the implementation of restructuring in Bulgaria and the company-based organization of her economic activities. They underlined that the new type of organization offers better opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation with Norwegian and other West European companies. The Norwegian side showed great interest in the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria.

Cultural Agreement Signed With UK in Sofia
AU1602210889 Sofia BTA in English
2018 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—Bulgaria, the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland signed here today a plan for exchange in the field of culture, education and science which will promote cooperation and will help these countries know each other better.

In the next two years specialists in different branches of knowledge will exchange visits for joint research work and lecturing tours. Direct contacts between universities, institutes and higher schools will be encouraged. The document provides for grants, convening bilateral scientists' meetings for the discussion of subjects of mutual interest, foreign language teaching.

The two sides agreed to continue to facilitate in the future the circulation of materials of cultural, information and scientific nature intended for enlarging the knowledge of the peoples and the cultures of Bulgaria and Britain. Cooperation in publishing activity, organizing exhibitions and establishing contacts in the field of the cinema, the theatre, radio, television, literature and music will also be extended.

Consortium With Austrian Firms Established
AU1602140089 Sofia BTA in English
1158 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, 16 February (BTA)—The Centre of Biotechnologies is to build near Sofia a consortium of Bulgarian and Austrian companies [sentence as received]. The agreement on the setting up of the consortium was signed today by Mr Anastasiy Donchev, first deputy chairman of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association and Mr Peter Simersbach, president of Alpen Consult Company.

The document envisages the construction of a technoscientific complex for research and development activities in molecular biology, engineering enzymology, bioorganic chemistry and other branches of genetic engineering. The construction is to be done mainly by Bulgarian workers and experts and with local materials. Besides, a few small and medium-size enterprises for biotechnological products with the use of modern technologies are to be set up in cooperation of companies from both countries.

The chemical industry and biotechnologies are a priority branch in the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Austria, which is rapidly being developed. Joint companies and other types of cooperation between the companies of the two countries have been already established in heavy chemistry, chemical machine building, household chemistry and other fields.

Mr Anastasiy Donchev and Mr Peter Simersbach expressed satisfaction with the expansion and mutually beneficial cooperation in the sphere of biotechnologies with the consortium which was set up today.

Bulgarian-Lebanese Friendship Society Formed
AU1602185989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] A Bulgarian-Lebanese friendship society was founded today at a meeting of the Committee for Culture. Members of the society include representatives of the public and business circles, figures from the arts and culture, poets, and journalists.

As Husayn Musawi, the Lebanese ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, said in his speech, the society is an expression of the friendship, support, and solidarity that the Bulgarian people show toward the Lebanese people's struggle to preserve the unity, independence, and sovereignty of their country.

At a session of the Bulgarian-Lebanese Friendship Society, Viktor Vulkov, member of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group and the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation, was unanimously elected as the society's chairman.

Zhivkov Congratulates Iranian Leaders
AU1302135789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent a telegram of congratulations to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the occasion of the country's National Day.

The telegram expresses confidence in the existence of favorable new conditions for the further consolidation and expansion of traditionally good relations between the two countries to the benefit of the two peoples, in the interest of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

On the same occasion Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent a telegram to Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The telegram expresses wishes for the Iranian people's progress, happiness, and prosperity.

Regulations on Economic Activity Decree Adopted
AU1602164089 Sofia BTA in English
1606 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—The regulations on the enforcement of the State Council Decree on Economic Activity, issued last month, have been adopted by a Council of Ministers Decree dated February 15, 1989. The full text of the regulations will appear in tomorrow's press.

The document specifies the rules and requirements for the incorporation and operation of companies as a new type of economic organization in this country. Companies may be formed on the basis of all forms of socialist property.

The regulations consist of nine chapters. Following the general provisions, applicable to all types of companies, the document details the status of the various categories of companies: joint-stock companies, limited-liability companies, unlimited companies, and citizens' companies.

The conditions are specified under which a company is wound up and is subject to liquidation. A separate chapter elaborates the state regulation of economic activity in terms of pricing, relations between the companies and the exchequer, profit formation and distribution.

Rules are laid down for wage formation and for the issue of bonds and staff shares. The principles of the introduction and functioning of leasehold production are defined.

The document regulates the relations between companies and banks and specifies the conditions under which a voluntary economic arbitration will be resorted to. Besides, there are provisions on the economic activity of foreign-owned and foreign-investment companies in this country.

The regulations give concrete expression to the idea, inherent in the State Council decree, of aligning the Bulgarian legal framework with the world economic and trade law.

Unfair Expropriation of Property Discussed *AU1102205189*

[Editorial Report] Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian in issues No 4 of 25 January and No 6 of 8 February, on pages 8 and 9 in each case, publishes a 2-part article, totaling 1,500 words, by Prof Zhivko Stalev and Georgi Markov, entitled "Is Private Property Safeguarded?"

In part 1 of their article, Stalev and Markov first discuss the protection afforded for private property under Articles 21 and 28 of the Constitution and the provisions for "fair compensation" in the case of expropriation for state or public needs, which include assessment of the fairness of the compensation by the National Assembly in certain cases. However, the authors then note: "Unfortunately, the instructions in force concerning expropriation of property for state and public needs do not conform to these two requirements of the Constitution in a number of ways, since important issues in this area are regulated not by the law, but by subordinate

legal acts...." The authors recommend that these discrepancies be eliminated, with the principal aim of ensuring the "fair compensation" for expropriated property provided under the Constitution.

In part 2 of their article, as stated in the introduction supplied by ANTENI, "the authors continue their commentary on the Code for Application on the Law Concerning Territorial and Rural Organization and the Instructions on Prices for Real Estate, concentrating on the discrepancies between these two acts and the Constitution...."

Stalev and Markov note that under Article 253 of the above "Code," owners are compensated for their confiscated properties as follows: Single citizens are given a 1-room apartment; families with two members receive a 2-room apartment; families with three or four members, a 4-room apartment; and so on, with the possibility of granting an extra room at the authorities' discretion. The authors point out that no account is taken of the size of the expropriated property, which may lead to a reduction of the living standards of the former owners. The authors assert that "such norms are not fair compensation in the case of compulsory expropriation of citizens' dwellings," and offend the Constitution's requirement for "fair compensation."

The authors also point to "unjustified discrimination" in connection with the expropriation of properties in Bulgaria owned by Bulgarian citizens living abroad, who, according to Supreme Court Judgment No 668 of 1987, can be compensated only with the permission of the Ministry of Planning and Economy. The authors note that in these cases the properties to be confiscated are given extremely low valuations, whereas the properties granted in compensation are valued according to a tariff which is 40 percent higher. This means, say the authors, that "if an apartment of approximately 70 square meters in a solid building with load-bearing walls and massive concrete floors built prior to 1930 is expropriated, the value of this building under the tariff will barely cover a studio apartment of 45 square meters in an industrially built panel apartment block on the outskirts of Sofia, which costs over 10,000 leva." The authors add that the expatriate Bulgarian "in most cases will not receive any property in compensation at all" and will be deprived of any home in his native land, and all this "at a time when we are building a House for Bulgarians Living Abroad."

The authors give further details of the unfair system for valuing expropriated properties and land for building in populated areas, which is set out in the above "instructions." They conclude:

"The crying anomalies in the existing regulations for expropriating properties for state or public requirements must be eliminated by the introduction of genuinely fair compensation."

Numerous Bomb Threats From Anonymous Callers

Police Official Comments

LD1502224589 Prague CTK in English
2006 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—Altogether 15 anonymous callers threatening with bomb explosions were identified in the Czech Socialist Republic by February 14, and seven of them are being investigated, chief of the Interior Ministry's Police Investigations Department Lieutenant-Colonel Dr Jan Pavlik told CTK today.

Dr Pavlik confirmed press reports that three anonymous phone callers who threatened to blow up various public buildings in the North Bohemian region have been detained, and added that police are now checking up on another anonymous caller in Kutna Hora, east of Prague, who threatened to blow up the local railway station.

Dr Pavlik said the purpose of the calls evidently is to cause anxiety. There is natural concern among the population. The financial costs of checking whether the threats are true are high and there have also been disruptions of traffic of Prague's underground railway, affecting people. After the latest threats today, morning rush hour traffic had to be interrupted for 10 minutes at the museum station on Wenceslas Square in Prague.

Dr Pavlik further said that the threats constitute a crime under the country's penal code, and in assessing them further circumstances, e.g. the intentions of the callers, must be considered. The persons already identified are investigated for spreading alarming reports and the concrete charges will be raised by the court.

Bomb Threat Caller Arrested

LD160223489 Prague CTK in English
2114 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—Members of the Czechoslovak public security force today traced, arrested and convicted a man who called a public security station on Wednesday, February 15, and said that a bomb would explode at the museum underground railway station on Wenceslas Square in Prague on the same day.

The caller has been identified as Petr Novohradsky, 38, who has already been sentenced several times on charges of violence and other criminal offences. He confessed himself guilty and said that by his deed he wanted to express his negative attitude to the public security and "test its action ability".

His anonymous call on Wednesday caused limitation and later 10-minute interruption of morning rush hour traffic on both "A" and "C" lines of the Prague underground railway.

According to representatives of the Prague public security administration, measures have been adopted creating preconditions for the tracing of other anonymous callers.

Petr Novohradsky has been charged with spreading alarm. The motive of his deed and other circumstances that led to it are still under investigation.

Adamec, Delegation Depart for Soviet Union

LD1602171389 Prague CTK in English
1540 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec left here today for an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Ladislav Adamec is accompanied by Czechoslovak first deputy premiers Pavol Hrivnak and Bohumil Urban, and Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina.

Discussed during the visit will be topical questions of the development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, particularly prospects of economic cooperation.

The Czechoslovak premier was seen off at Prague airport by Deputy Premier Matej Lucan and other officials.

Communique Issued on Plenary Meeting

AU1602132689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Convened; The CSSR-Soviet Draft Concept for Economic and Research and Development Cooperation Between the CSSR and USSR for 15-20 Years Discussed; Attention Paid to the Maintenance and Repair of the Housing Stock; Proposal for the Renewal, Reconstruction, and Modernization of the Manufacturing Base of the Printing Industry Debated; On the Causes of the Breakdown in Supplier-Consumer Relations in our Economy; Report on the Reduction in the Apparatus of Central Organs; On the State of Forestry and Water Management in the Krkonose Mountains"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held a plenary meeting on Thursday [9 February]. It discussed the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet draft concept for economic and research and development cooperation between the CSSR and USSR for 15-20 years. At present, in the trade between both countries, an inter-branch exchange predominates. It will only be possible to safeguard the further development of trade by the significant intensification of internal-branch specialization and cooperation, which must be based upon the division of manufacturing programs, upon cooperation in the manufacture of components for new technology, and upon internal-branch cooperation in the chemical and consumer goods industry. It is

expected that the draft of this concept, on which Czechoslovakia places a fundamental significance, will be discussed by the heads of both governments at the forthcoming meeting in Moscow.

Organizations of the housing economy controlled by the national committees administer on the whole 132,000 houses in the CSSR with a total of more than 1.4 million apartments. In the Czech SR more than 40 percent of these apartments were built before 1945 and about 220,000 of them belong to categories III and IV, and are markedly dilapidated and technically ill-equipped. The national committees in the Slovak SR administer a housing stock built after 1950, predominantly with prefabricated technology, similarly as 80 percent of the more than 1 million apartments in the CSSR that belong to housing cooperatives.

In the course of past years a series of acute problems has accumulated in the maintenance and repair of this housing stock. According to a specialist evaluation of the technical state of the houses and apartments the neglect in maintenance of communal houses represents Kcs26.9 billion and neglect of cooperative houses represents Kcs7.7 billion. The CSSR Government familiarized itself with the resolutions which the governments of the Czech and Slovak SRs have adopted for the Ninth 5-Year Plan on the gradual reparation of this situation. These resolutions contain a broad span of measures—beginning with allocating the necessary financial resources for the stimulation of maintenance and repair by economic mechanisms, ensuring the material technical provisions, right up to the assigning of particular projects and building capacities for the repair of the housing stock. The aim is to halt the decline of today's situation and to gradually reduce the neglect of the housing stock. The Federal Government took note of these measures and charged the chairman of the State Planning Commission and the CSSR Minister of Finance with proceeding, in the draft of the state plan for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and in the budget forecast for the years 1991-1995, from the overall requirement of at least Kcs24.3 billion for the Czech SR and Kcs5.2 billion for the Slovak SR for the repair and maintenance of the communal housing stock. A similar draft will be prepared for the Ninth 5-Year Plan for the builders' housing cooperatives and for the people's housing cooperatives.

At the end of the discussion on this topic the government stressed that this involves a politically, economically, and technically very important task. **The positive thing is that its preparation, to which it is necessary to pay great attention, begins with a marked lead time before the introduction of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.** Furthermore, the Government assigned the task of compiling before the end of June this year a precise time schedule for the fulfillment of this task and of putting forward a proposal of how to initiatively involve the occupiers of apartments in the maintenance and repair of the housing stock.

The CSSR Government discussed a proposal for the renewal, reconstruction, and modernization of the manufacturing base of the printing industry in Czechoslovakia. The lower level of investment in the printing industry in comparison with other branches is manifested in its unsatisfactory state. **The development of new technologies in the world further intensifies our lagging behind.** At present the depreciation of printing industry machinery has reached 72 percent in the Czech SR and 61 percent in the Slovak SR. At the same time there are clusters of vital equipment which are completely written off. This situation is adversely manifested in the insufficient print runs of periodicals and publications and in the delivery possibilities and in the quality of supplies of all printed matter.

The government assigned the task of completing the submitted material before the end of April of this year, of **earmarking the required funds for the solution of breakdown situations, preparing an analysis of the broader economic circumstances of the printing industry, publishing, and editorial activity, and complementing this analysis by linking it up with the paper industry.**

The CSSR Committee of People's Control has investigated the causes of the disruptions in supplier-consumer relations in our economy. The results of this investigation, with which the CSSR Government familiarized itself, indicate that a series of influences, which mutually merge into each other, causes these disruptions. Subjective inefficiencies play a large role. The higher elements of management, while eradicating the differences in supplier-consumer relations, for the most part do not investigate the legitimacy of the origin of the disruptions, do not create conditions for their actual solution, and only an administrative approach prevails. Among other causes are deficiencies in planning, when manufacturing resources and allocations do not line up. Influences from the changes in external economic relations and a general and partial imbalance also manifest themselves. **Also manifested unfavorably is the fact that over a long period we have not succeeded in reducing the material intensiveness of the Czechoslovak economy, that existing production capacities are insufficiently utilized, and new projects do not achieve the planned parameters.** This strain causes the consumers to often markedly exaggerate their demands. The number of disruptions also increases because of low supplier discipline and the abuse by many producers of their monopoly status. Only the lesser part of the differences is caused by objective influences, like breakdowns of manufacturing equipment or extraordinary climatic influences. The amount of disruptions in supplier-consumer relations is increasing, as is borne out by the number of pre-contractual disputes and disputes about the actual fulfillment of contracts, which rose from 8,043 in 1984 to 13,188 in 1987. One of the serious consequences of this is increasing imports, which make up for the shortfalls in domestic supplies.

The government assigned the task of checking the legitimacy of claimed requirements of materials and components in instances of major differences, and of ascertaining

the level of inventories of scarce items by the main suppliers and consumers. It ruled that if they are excessive they are to be brought quickly into circulation. Before the end of June the Federal Material Reserves Administration will put forward a proposal for the creation of a specialized organization which, on a cost accounting basis, would provide for the reduction of excessive inventories, including central record keeping, the bulk buying of inventories, and their return to circulation.

The CSSR Government familiarized itself with the interim report on the reduction of the apparatus of central organs including the relocation of the released staff, the vacation of space in buildings, and their further utilization. The assigned task of reducing the number of employees was fulfilled before the end of 1988 by central organs in the province of the Czech SR, the number of employees in the province of the Slovak SR still remains to be reduced by 373 and in federal central organs by 1,355. From the overall number of reductions carried out so far, 60.4 percent of cases involved unoccupied places, the termination of employment for a specified period, and the retirement of employees. Meanwhile, only 9.8 percent of released employees have not secured appropriate places.

The vacating of office space and other buildings, which represents 14,410 square meters in the Czech SR, 9,800 square meters in the Slovak SR, and 28,600 square meters in federal central organs, is continuing gradually.

The government took note of this report and assigned those federal central organs, which meanwhile have not thoroughly fulfilled the aims in this sphere, the task of strictly adhering to the principles of the appropriate resolution by the CSSR Government. The reduction in the number of employees must be unconditionally completed by 30 June this year, the same as the vacating of office and other spaces which is dependent on this.

The CSSR Government discussed and approved the principles of the personal monetary incentives of directors of state and cooperative enterprises and chairmen of housing, consumer, and manufacturing cooperatives for the period 1989-1990. While the hitherto established system of remuneration gave significant authority to the superior organs of the enterprises, which tried many times to increase the real level of annual bonuses and minimized cuts, the new established principles arise overwhelmingly out of real economic criteria, such as growth in profits or the net output in a given enterprise.

The Czech SR Government presented to the CSSR Government a report on the condition of forestry and water management in the Krkonose region. As the report makes clear, the widespread gradual extinction of trees, the deterioration of water supply conditions, and a rapid threat to the environment are taking place in the Krkonose area. The CSSR Government assigned the task of supplying sufficient amounts of low sulphurous bituminous coal for the Trutnov-Porici power station and other

regional resources, extending centralized heating supply in the Sub-Krkonose region, implementing actions for the preservation of water purity at selected recreation establishments, and providing for the basic research into emission ecology, including the specific problems of the Krkonose region.

The government familiarized itself with the report on the progress and results of the international conference on the prevention of illegal acts against the security of seafaring and with the draft convention on the prevention of illegal acts against the security of seafaring and the protocol on the prevention of illegal acts against the security of fixed platforms located in continental shallow waters. It voiced its agreement with the signing of the convention and protocol. It further agreed with the negotiation of a multilateral agreement between the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the PPR, the Romanian Socialist Republic, the USSR, the CSSR, and the SFRY on the mutual legal protection of varieties of cultivated plants.

The government heard and approved a report on the progress and results of the official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran by Ladislav Adamec, the CSSR premier.

The CSSR Government voiced its agreement with the course adopted by the Czechoslovak delegation during the Vienna CSCE follow-up talks. It assigned all members of the government and heads of federal central organs the tasks of carrying out analyses of the Vienna final document from the viewpoint of the activity of their own departments and of completing before 10 March of this year concrete measures for ensuring its realization.

The Government praised the decision of the Vienna meeting to begin talks in March of this year in Vienna between the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on conventional armed forces in Europe as well as the talks by the 35 participatory states on confidence building measures and security in Europe.

Report on Central Committee Presidium Session

AU1502195589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Feb 89 p 1

["Report on CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [10 February] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium addressed problems connected with investments in ecology in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The orientation of the program of ecology-related investments proceeds from long-term conceptual projections in the individual segments of the environment. However, the preparation and realization of ecological projects by investors and suppliers is not being implemented to the extent envisaged by the 17th CPCZ Congress. This is the first time that a conceptual program oriented toward the solution of the main sources of

pollution has been determined within the framework of a 5-year plan, a program which does not ignore the solution of partial local problems, especially within the framework of the "Z" actions [community self-help]. In the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the extent of the implementation of the ecology-related capital investment was roughly identical to what was achieved over the entire period of the Sixth or Seventh 5-Year Plans. The Presidium noted that the measures recently approved by the CSSR Government are correctly oriented toward boosting projects' capacities, upgrading the engineering-technological equipment for projects of the ecological program, and additionally including all comprehensively prepared projects, which are ensured in respect to suppliers and financing, in the 1989 state executive plan.

The Presidium approved the composition of a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium commission to draft a part of a report concerning the party's social and economic policies, headed by Comrade Jozef Lenart; two working groups which will draft the socioeconomic part of the CPCZ Central Committee's report to the 18th CPCZ Congress; the draft of the Main Guidelines for Social and Economic Development Through the Year 2000 and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan; and a draft of background material on social and economic development for the delegates to the congress.

The Presidium assessed a joint Czechoslovak-Soviet draft concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR for 15 to 20 years, worked out on the initiative of the general secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee. The concept, which determines concrete paths for intensifying cooperation between our countries, is an important political step toward coordinating the two countries' economic policies in mutually interconnected branches of the national economy. The draft concept is an open-ended document which will be complemented and specified in greater detail as time goes by.

The Presidium took note of a report on the course of the 1-3 February working visit to the GDR by Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, expressed appreciation for the results of the cooperation between the two sides in the ideological sphere, and endorsed initiatives that are aimed at its further development.

It released Jaroslav Cejka from the post of chief editor of the periodical TVORBA, a weekly for literature, politics, culture, and the arts, in view of his being entrusted with other tasks, and approved the appointment of Ivan Matejka, until now his deputy, to the post.

By-Elections Scheduled for Federal Chambers
LD1402230189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The Federal Assembly Presidium met today and was chaired by Alois Indra. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part in the deliberations.

The meeting heard and acknowledged the report of the chairmen of the chambers about the resignations of some deputies of the Federal Assembly, which were discussed by the preceding presidium of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations.

In connection with this it announced by-elections to the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations in certain electoral districts in keeping with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation and the law on the elections to the Federal Assembly.

Armaments Plant Announces Restructuring Plans
LD1502224289 Prague CTK in English
1900 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Bratislava Feb 15 (CTK)—Restructuring of the production program of Czechoslovakia's largest armaments plant, the heavy engineering plant (ZTS) at Martin, central Slovakia, linked with the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, was discussed at a press conference with representatives of the plant here today.

Production of military equipment will decrease by 50 per cent this year compared with last year and will account for only about 25 per cent of the plant's overall production volume in 1995, director of ZTS Jozef Uhrík said, and added that the volume of production of civilian engineering equipment, which was last year valued at 14,000 million crowns, will increase by 10,000 million crowns. The plant's civilian engineering production consists mainly of building and road building machinery. Production will be expanded mainly in branches the products of which are in short supply in Czechoslovakia or in which there is greater interest on world markets.

Jozef Uhrík said that the restructuring affects directly 3,500 of the plant's 85,000 workers, with 3,000 of them having been already trained for civilian production.

Impact of Arms Cuts on Industry Jobs Noted
AU1602115689 Prague PRACE in Czech
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Second installment of answers by Colonel Stanislav Pohoral from the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army to PRACE readers' questions: "Not Only for Soldiers"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Question] The reduction in the Federal Ministry of National Defense budget surely means limited orders from the military with manufacturing organizations of the civilian sector. Will this not result in the loss of jobs?

[Pohoral] Some of the reduction to be carried out will be projected in orders from imports and will not have a direct impact on the utilization of our production capacities.

The reduction in orders for weaponry and equipment placed with the Czechoslovak industry will affect the utilization of the existing armaments capacities. This is why alternative programs are being sought, programs that could be provided for by the same basic raw and other materials. The issue is to find such alternative programs which would conform with the character of work operations [in the arms industry] and make it possible to use the available specialists. In spite of a number of problems with this, there is an endeavor to make full use of all employees and to furnish them with social guarantees. This will mean an individual approach to the work assignment of each employee on the basis of specific conditions and possibilities.

[Question] Will the military budget be regularly published?

[Pohoral] The publication of the overall expenditures on defense and security will continue. They are broken down into expenditures in the two republics and in the federation and are provided annually in the Statistical Yearbooks issued by the Federal Bureau of Statistics and in the generally accessible issues of the CSSR Legal Gazette. The publication of the distribution of this item among individual departments (respectively the publication of the budget's internal structure) requires a decision by the appropriate state bodies, on the basis of a mutual agreement on laying open data in all states of the two coalitions. The data being published to date are not comparable because the principles (the methodology) of drawing up budgets vary from state to state.

[Question] The measures by the Czechoslovak People's Army (State Defense Council) have already spawned pacifism among some young people. What do you think about this?

[Pohoral] It is true that illusions and some kind of a carefree attitude regarding the need to permanently safeguard our defenses, and those of the entire socialist community, are spreading among parts of the population, especially among young people. Some positive features in the development of the international situation are being overestimated. It is understandable that young people with little experience can easily succumb to the false idea that the process of military detente between the East and the West is irreversible and that peace can no longer be threatened.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. Faced with the question of whether the danger of war continues to exist for the CSSR, one can only say yes. [passage omitted]

Fojtik Addresses Media Officials 9 Feb
AU1302205489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Feb 89 p 2

["Concluding Statement by Comrade J. Fojtik," CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, at the meeting of the senior executive staff of CSSR mass media held on the premises of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics in Prague on 9 February]

[Text] The meeting between the executive staff of our journalist community and Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, has been justly appraised in the discussion. This is particularly important now—it orients our propaganda toward the main tasks. We must not let topics and problems be foisted upon us, since they can obscure what is in fact the most important issue of today: the implementation of the program adopted by us at the 17th Congress and gradually elaborated at the plenary sessions of the Central Committee which followed it, above all at the seventh session, but also at other sessions. Comrade Jakes spoke about this in great detail. I believe that our communications media must focus their attention on tasks which are decisive for the successful realization of this program.

In this context, I would again like to stress the importance of supplying information to the public—the importance of open policy. This is not merely something that is en vogue, it is the basic factor of socialist, communist propaganda, the basic factor of all our political activity.

It is naturally linked with the increasing responsibility of working in journalism. Our people must be informed, truthfully and as comprehensively as possible, about all that is happening in our own country and in the world, about all the important things which could enable them to participate in administering society both consciously and energetically. This is the essence of the principle of "glasnost." This is why the information provided must be most reliable.

Permit me two remarks in this context: First, there is the question of criticism. We logically connect information to the public with criticism. We do not give up criticism—on the contrary, we demand criticism. We must uncover shortcomings and pillory those things that stand in the way of our advancement. At the same time, the tenor of our propaganda must be constructive, as we recently stated at the CPCZ Central Committee session on ideological work. It must make it clear that not only do we know about the problems, we know about them very well; we see what is causing them, but we also want to resolve them and honestly seek ways to overcome them. And we call upon all people who are willing and able to contribute to improving the situation, in any place whatsoever, to join us. That is why it is essential for the tenor of our propaganda to fill the people with strength, energy, and determination to cope with shortcomings. What is the use of criticism which leads to

nihilism, which casts doubts on the ability of our system to develop politically, economically, and spiritually? In its final consequences, such criticism merely plays into the hands of forces that deny our party the right to lead society, to head the restructuring process, and to fulfill the mission entrusted to it by the modern history of our nations.

In this connection, I want to mention the second issue, which is also topical, but will hopefully not become a mere fashion—the dialogue. I want to make it clear: We ourselves are offering the dialogue. After all, it is surely no coincidence that certain representatives of the illegal structures stress that they will “not play on the same turf with us.” I think that we can be grateful to them for such frankness. Actually, we are not calling for a dialogue with everybody—only with those who are willing to help us resolve the problems of our socialist society, who are willing to contribute toward its further development. We are definitely not offering a dialogue to people interested in the destruction of the socialist social system.

Not every person who today talks about the need for a dialogue realizes this. Nevertheless, it is necessary to know this—and particularly the communications media must know this. The right way to formulate the question is: “A dialogue about what, and for what purpose?” We will not let a dialogue be foisted upon us by people wanting to judge our contemporary problems from those positions adopted by the defeated reaction of February 1948, or by forces defeated anew in 1968, when they tried for a revanche for February.

When speaking of the present need for dialogue, we must correctly weigh the kind of dialogue in which we will be involved, and also determine its purpose. We will welcome all those who regard the restructuring of our society as a process of maximalizing the legacy of February under current conditions of development; but we will definitely not conduct a dialogue with those who regard it as an opportunity to settle accounts with February’s revolutionary heritage. The discussions which will develop in the communications media should not provide a platform for settling accounts with people for the ideological positions maintained by them, and even less for personal concerns.

Those who pursue their narrow interests, transferring them to the political sphere in the belief that the winds of restructuring will help to fill their sails, will be disappointed. The calculations of opposition forces are erroneous in this respect—but they can obviously explain the aggressiveness recently shown by some of these people, counterposed to the objective tendencies in the development of our society, which has sufficient experience to know that the achievements of the revolutionary transformations can be maximized solely by constructive work, on the basis of activities which concern the whole society, and not merely a small handful of people.

By entering the period of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, which is to be held 1 year earlier than planned, we have acquired the opportunity to develop widespread offensive work in the entire propaganda sphere, and particularly in our communications media. We know that the media have successfully passed the various tests of recent decades, without becoming disoriented by opportunistic waves. We can also rely on them now, when our further development will considerably depend on their activities.

Fojtik Offers Comments on Charter 77

AU1502175789 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German
15 Feb 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Jan Fojtik, member of the CPCZ Politburo, by Otto Janecek in Prague: “Ready for Dialogue”—date not given]

[Text] Why does Charter 77, which seemed to be virtually dead a few years ago, again have so much influence in the CSSR to be able to organize demonstrations in Wenceslas Square that attract several thousand participants?

This was the question I asked responsible functionaries of the CPCZ, but also old friends who “no longer have anything to say” in the party. One of them told me: “Look, whenever two people have an argument in Wenceslas Square hundreds of curious people will gather within 10 minutes and watch them.” In other words, this means that not all of the 3,000 to 4,000 people who participated in the demonstration about Jan Palach, the student who burned himself to death 20 years ago in Prague’s Wenceslas Square in protest against the Soviet invasion, were Charter supporters and demonstrators. They were curious people and they thought that the police overreacted. I have been told that there was no need for water cannons and dogs.

Jan Fojtik, member of the CPCZ Politburo believes we have changed a lot in recent times. This causes concern among our comrades, but it cannot make us leave the road for which we have opted. It is not labels that matter, but what is important is that we can catch up with gains in development which we have missed. In doing so, all socialist countries are looking for a way of their own. There are also forces who call for a return: “Back to capitalism. We have underestimated these forces.”

“Of course, these forces think that certain developments in other socialist countries and certain statements there, which we ourselves often fail to understand, support their cause.”

“Charter 77 once again speaks of improving socialism. There is Cestmir Cisar, one of the old party secretaries under Dubcek, who is about to found a ‘Club of Socialist Renewal.’ They are founding a lot of clubs and are always very busy and they try to pretend that they are much bigger than they actually are. Certainly, there is

also the well-known cooperation with the West, with Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the FRG radio service, and also with the Austrian Radio and Television Service (ORF). We are accused of not respecting our own principles and our own program. However, most things they come up with are taken from our own papers. They sell our self-criticism to the West as their invention."

"True, there are clashes of interest here. I am one who used to think that socialism would put an end to the major clashes of interest, but new problems and new conflicts have emerged. For some time, we thought that everything was all right, including in the economic sector. However, now it has turned out that there are serious problems. The conflict between generations? It is not to be taken so literally. Look, a new generation has emerged which is not familiar with the class struggle. This applies to all socialist countries. I often get scared when I read all the stuff that is being written."

"Democratization? Well, that the Charter acts as it does actually proves that further democratization is taking place. Would we otherwise have permitted Dubcek (who, by the way, was never a member of the Charter) to travel to Italy; and former foreign minister Hajek to visit Austria? What we do not want are hooligans demonstrating in Prague, smashing shopwindows, and setting fire to cars. The events on Wenceslas Square were prepared more or less openly over the space of a week or so. Leaflets were printed and dispersed. There were plans to organize a Charter 77 pilgrims' march to the grave of Palach, outside Prague. They knew that this was prohibited. However, demonstrations did take place."

"A dialogue? Of course we are ready to hold a dialogue with the so-called opposition, provided it is based on socialism."

Somewhat puzzled, I raise my eyes from my notepad. "Even with Charter?"

Fojtik: "Even with Charter, provided such a dialogue takes place within the framework of the National Front and on the basis of socialism. However, they will not want that. They will confront us with all kinds of conditions in order to forestall this. Yet, as I said before, we are ready to talk, even if this is nothing but a maneuver on their part. Of course, we also need a clear picture of the structure of the opposition and of its objectives. When we engage in a dialogue we must know whom it is with and for what purpose."

"Some would like to have the old Czechoslovak aristocracy return. It sounds like a bad comedy, but these people were also convened to take part in the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square."

We then come to talk about the role of the so-called Catholic opposition. Regarding the controversy over filling the vacant post of a bishop, Fojtik noted: "We have a whole number of candidates who would be

agreeable for both, the Vatican and us. However, the pope does not want to agree. He wants combative bishops who interfere in politics. We will not permit this because we do not want bishops' conferences to be held every week and organize demonstrations or political pilgrims' marches. We are not that stupid."

After a short pause, Fojtik continues: "And even Mr Busek from Vienna has to understand this. When he was here he visited Cardinal Tomasek and then he gave us political advice. He had better keep it to himself."

Hruskovic Criticizes Building Industry

AU1402135189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "An Aktiv of Slovak SR Builders"]

[Text] Bratislava—The fulfillment of the aims of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in capital construction and the creation of better conditions for the management of construction organizations after 1990 requires that immediate and significant economic steps be enforced in their activity. This was stated by leading officials and functionaries of the construction and building sector at a Slovak political economic aktiv held in Bratislava on Thursday [9 February].

Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, suggested that in recent years shortcomings in investment policy, many of which are systemic, played a part in the deviations from the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress on the acceleration of socioeconomic development of society. They became the cause of pronounced losses in the national economy and of social damage. Although the state investment plan observes nationwide interests, its concept up until now has often been disrupted by voluntaristic approaches, by the enforcement of local interests, and by the will of individuals. This must not be permitted. During the final years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan this fact motivated the Government to reevaluate and limit the scope of capital construction. The building industry, for which this creates the opportunity to reduce the high number of unfinished buildings, ought to use this chance to consolidate its capacity and create the necessary prerequisites for cutting construction times and costs in building.

Vladimir Janku Interviewed on Church Meeting

AU1402095889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, by Jiri Kohout; date, place not given]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—Recently officials from state organs met with Roman Catholic ordinaries. We asked Comrade Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, for information on the purpose of this meeting.

[Kohout] What was the meeting with the ordinaries about?

[Janku] It was the now traditional dialogue between representatives of the Roman Catholic Church—that is, ordinaries—and the leadership of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, with leading representatives of appropriate state organs, especially directors of the secretariats for church affairs. It took place on 1 February.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that the participants in the meeting received with a certain amusement the information that some Western mass media had already reported beforehand not only about this meeting but also about its contents and even results. In particular, Radio Free Europe attempted to tell the ordinaries in advance how they ought to behave and how they ought to proceed.

[Kohout] How in fact did this meeting progress?

[Janku] The dialogue progressed in the traditionally candid atmosphere when opinions on existing problems are frankly exchanged—of course, including critical opinions. A frank dialogue cannot take place otherwise and such practice is absolutely normal. At the same time, the dialogue progressed in the traditionally constructive atmosphere based on the mutual interest of helping to create good relations between church and state and jointly contributing to the earnest solving of existing problems.

[Kohout] Some Western mass media claim that the intention of the meeting was an attempt to put pressure on ordinaries in connection with the recent letters from Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

[Janku] Such an intention exists only in their imaginations. The truth is that the Roman Catholic representatives were informed on all the details and in great depth, both about the illegal demonstrations in Prague and about the exchange of letters, in order that they could form their own unbiased opinion. The participants of the dialogue jointly voiced their opinion that it is necessary to constructively support the further development of our society and that any kind of destructive act or violation of the law cannot contribute to anything but causes great damage not only economic, but first and foremost political and moral, and can disrupt the process of restructuring. The road forward is only by the road of honest labor and selfless participation in overcoming existing problems.

[Kohout] Thank you for the interview.

Bush Criticized on Relations With USSR
AU1402095689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
11 Feb 89 p 5

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the "Commentator's Views" column]

[Text] The draft budget submitted by President George Bush to the U.S. Congress was quite surprising, and will probably evoke criticism both at home and abroad. For

instance, he insisted on his promise not to raise taxes, and even proposed to cut the tax on profits from capital investments. This is opposed to all efforts to increase budget revenues and thus reduce the deficit. That is also why the President's proposal suits only the rich....

In the rationale presented by Bush on the draft budget, the part dealing with military matters deserves particular attention. It mentions the modernization of strategic nuclear weapons as the foundation of "intimidation"—this should make it possible to conduct productive negotiations on arms control, it is alleged. However, this stands in complete contradiction to what former President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev had agreed on in Moscow—an agreement with which Bush, too, had identified himself. The modernization of strategic weapons cannot contribute toward constructive negotiations on "arms control"; on the contrary, it would disrupt such negotiations and create distrust.

President Bush also spoke of efforts to continue developing the "Star Wars" program. It can be deduced from this that he has succumbed to pressures exerted by the military-industrial complex. The reason he gave was that the Soviet Union is pursuing goals which are opposed to American interests. It is a pity that Bush has failed to mention at least one example in support of this claim. Or, is the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of the number of its soldiers and armaments perhaps a goal with which the United States finds it impossible to identify itself? And what about the negotiations on the limitation of conventional armed forces and armaments both by NATO and by the Warsaw Pact, which are to start in 3 weeks' time in Vienna—do they not suit the United States, either? It seems that Bush has not yet become quite aware of the overall changes that have taken place in international relations, and particularly in USSR-U.S. relations.

MSZMP Favors Creation of 'Socialist Pluralism'
AU1402153689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
13 Feb 89 pp 1, 5

[Gejza Vilcek report: "Party Favors Creation of Socialist Pluralism; MSZMP Central Committee's Significant Deliberations"]

[Text] Budapest—On 10 and 11 February the MSZMP Central Committee convened for a session; it heard a report on domestic political issues, presented by Karoly Grosz, the party's general secretary. Forty-seven Central Committee members spoke at the discussion; 7 submitted their statements in writing. A communique on the session will be issued.

The MSZMP Central Committee convened in a situation characterized by accelerated social processes and a widespread public discussion on whether the events of 1956 were a counterrevolution, or a popular uprising. The public waited for the answer to an issue which has been cropping up with increasing insistence—that of

several parties, and to the initiative of the New March Front, i.e. to its proposal to set up a statewide National Committee for coordinating various political forces in the country. Another topic was the party's unity, and how to understand the freedom of the platform inside MSZMP agencies. Emil Kimmel, acting for the Central Committee's press spokesman, stated that in this situation the Central Committee's deliberations were circumspect, constructive, and well considered. Above all, they clarified the term "party unity" and laid the foundations of a new kind of unity, which emerges from the sharp clashing of views and can be gradually shaped to replace the previous monopolist, and frequently formal, understanding of unity.

The session devoted a lot of time to the transition to a system involving several parties, in which the Central Committee wants to play an active and enterprising role. What the party's national conference last May termed "socialist pluralism," must be developed in practice into a system involving several parties. In this context MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz declared in a radio and television interview that neither the system prior to 1956 nor the system developed after 1956 had proved right for the conditions in Hungary—they were incapable of preventing subjective mistakes. Thus, the system of several parties is emerging on the MSZMP's initiative.

The Central Committee appraised the national tragedy of 1956 as a process which expressed, particularly at its initial stage, the people's justified dissatisfaction with a leadership which was both inefficient and incapable of coping with the demands for a revival. The intention was to create democratic socialism; however, starting with the beginning of November 1956, those wanting to restore the old system and various declassé elements increasingly began to raise their voices, and finally the country was confronted by counterrevolutionary acts. In the interview mentioned above, K. Grosz stated in this context that the declassé antistate elements wanted to reverse in their own favor the movement initiated by the people, many of whom were honorable persons who did not even think of overthrowing the regime. "The question now is not whether it was a revolution or a counterrevolution," he said, "but what had made a popular movement turn into a counterrevolution."

The Central Committee session formulated the demand to set up an action program for the party's political work, which should also contain tasks of economic reforms. This is significant because the present development indicates that an effort is being made to oust the party from the economic sphere. The MSZMP Central Committee also adopted a welcoming stand on the appeal of the New March Front.

As the general secretary said, the session was held in a spirit which showed that order can exist even without reforms, but that reforms cannot be carried out without first establishing order. The report presented by K. Grosz, the stand adopted by the party's Central Committee, and the response to the New March Front's appeal will be published in the press. The party's theoretical journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE will publish the study prepared by the MSZMP Central Committee's historical commission on the developments of the last 40 years.

The most critical issue at the MSZMP Central Committee session was the appraisal of 1956. It had become critical because various opposition groups had adopted the term "popular uprising" with lightning speed, striving to turn it into a kind of touchstone enabling them to classify people as advocates or adversaries of the reform. This is most obvious in the declaration of 15 so-called independent groups, which categorically states: "Any statement or stand to the contrary intensifies the crisis." The presidium of the writers' union deems the term "popular uprising" suitable for "the broadest unification of society's forces." On the other hand, the formulation is rejected by many primary party organizations and by organizations like F. Munich Society. A party organization in the 12th municipal district of Budapest protested against presenting the murder of Communists and non-members, the attack on the party's City Committee or instances of white terror as a popular uprising. In this situation the top party body had to adopt a sober stand; which it did. K. Grosz's words that the question is what had made the dissatisfaction grow into a counterrevolution are extremely significant: they urge people to study processes which always become extremely dangerous in tense situations. The answer to his question can also become a valuable contribution for the international communist and workers movement.

Grosz Speech at Central Committee Session
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[Speech by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at a meeting of the MSZMP Central Committee held on 10 and 11 February: "With Party Unity for Reforms"]

[Text] Esteemed Central Committee! At its meeting held on 31 January, the Politburo decided to convene a Central Committee session to discuss several topical issues. In addition, the Politburo thinks it is necessary for this body to meet again this month—at the date already announced—and discuss the topical tasks of further developing our agricultural policy and the principles of our new draft constitution.

In preparing today's meeting, we distributed two sets of written materials among the Central Committee members. I think that in the debate we will have to do more, and less, respectively, than only judging these written documents. We should do more because the nature of both these subjects requires us to examine them in a broader sense. We should do less, because we will be unable to conclude the debate on either of these subjects during this session. We will have to continue our debates. We are meeting today in a very tense and serious situation when only a calm and objective debate free of overheated passions could provide realistic chances for making correct decisions.

The depth and passion of conviction and expression of opinions should be reflected in precise arguments and in responsibility toward our party and nation. We have a great responsibility: At stake is whether, by renewing its unity and strengthening its organizational discipline, the party will be able to more firmly influence events in society, to take a stand against undesirable phenomena and political extremism accompanied by restructuring, and, if necessary, to even counterattack.

We Should Take a Stand on the Issue of a Multiparty System

We have come to a new important stage in the development of our political institutions. We should take a stand in connection with the emergence of a multiparty system, and we should decide on the pace of our major tasks to be carried out by the 14th Congress.

Before adding a few observations on the written documents, I would like to express my opinion about the current political situation in which we have to implement our program. In formulating my opinion, I was helped by the members of the delegate committee who had prepared and approved the written document, and by the Politburo.

There has been increased interest in today's session of the Central Committee coming from both the party members and the general public. What is the reason for

this increased interest? Basically, the reason for this is that we are now living through a new, and temporarily more tense phase of our long-term economic and political crisis. In this period, on the one hand, one can notice the burdens of the need to accept sacrifices, burdens that are indispensable for long-term development; on the other hand, one can conclude that the reforms that have already been started and the new decisions have not yet led to results, or have led only to partial results. This phase in our crisis is not some new or unique phase in the restructuring process. Obviously, we will also have to repeatedly take into account such phases in the future. It is impossible to emerge from this situation without ups and downs in the economic and political processes. However, we should make sure that we do not mix up the elements of public mood with the essential social processes, or the valuable and progressive views that are worth our support—and even the weak new ideas—with obsolete and conservative ideas and unfavorable phenomena disguised as order.

The Danger of an Accelerated Pace

How does this crisis manifest itself today? First of all, it manifests itself in the deterioration of our standard of living. 1988 was the first year in many years when domestic consumption decreased despite increased production. At the same time, in harmony with our goals, differences in incomes have already emerged, although, unfortunately, these differences often do not reflect the actual performance. The number of people who are living under increasingly difficult conditions is on the rise, and the loss of prospects is being manifested more acutely than ever before. As a result, the general public mood is deteriorating.

Both the party members and the public at large are dissatisfied with the results achieved so far since the party conference in May 1988. Social mobility has greatly accelerated and many new and unusual phenomena have emerged. Therefore, many people think that the party and the government are not in control of the situation and do not adequately influence these processes; on the contrary, the party and the government are drifting with the current of events.

The mushrooming extremist manifestations from both the right and the left—although one should be very careful in using these descriptions—amplify each other and not only lead to alarm but also to political fear among the population. Many people think that the party leadership lacks unity in important and topical issues, and there is a power struggle going on, while some leaders are placing their own interests in the foreground and to the detriment of the cause, and are fighting each other. This opinion has gained particular strength in recent days, in the wake of the well-known events. I admit that we do not know what to do with this.

Where should we look for the reasons behind this crisis? We should look for this basically in the fact that we have been unable to make the public accept that the economic and political development program we have decided upon demands great efforts and greater performance from the entire society, and, for several years, it will be impossible to fulfill the otherwise justified demands. Although we have never kept this opinion secret—and we also received verbal social support when we presented the programs aiming to extricate ourselves from this crisis—in practice, however, people find it more difficult to actually live through the implementation of this program.

Almost everyone accepts the goals in words, but much fewer people accept the subsequent hard and long-lasting work. Many people regard economic restructuring as inevitable, and even as desirable, but they reject the accompanying negative consequences. We are working on the implementation of the government program adopted in September 1987. We are doing what we have agreed upon, and despite this, we are facing a rather strong opposition coming from society. We have been unable to do away with the illusions that have been around for quite some time. Many people continue to think that a good decision and the election of new persons in our leadership are enough to solve our problems. However, the greatest part of the difficult and steady work is yet to be carried out.

Another reason is that our party movement was too busy with its internal affairs and focused its energy on organizing the party conferences, while not committing itself firmly enough to the real processes under way in society, politics, and in the country, and without the proper initiatives.

Swaying the Public Against Our Efforts

The past 10 months have been valuable from the viewpoint of the party. The party's self-purification has accelerated, and strong and successful efforts have emerged aimed at renewing the party movement. There has been an increase in the community's severity and moral demands toward the leaders' activities and attitude. A more independent and efficient public activity has emerged. However, the party has not been properly represented in the political public life.

One of the reasons for the crisis is the rapid pace of the economic and political reform processes. I know that this is open to debate. However, I think that there are two dangers resulting from this pace which is mainly dictated by us. One is the fact that neither our own members nor the society at large are able to find their way in the multitude of partial decisions and, thus, they are unable to see the main direction of development. Therefore, the social basis of the leadership is narrowing down. Second, the harmony between economic and political reform processes is facing the danger of disintegration. This is dangerous because it diverts the attention of society from vital issues, mainly from the economy. People do

not see that economic reform can be successful only if economic rules are respected. It is not enough to only decide on this, but this also requires enough time, and the right material conditions are also necessary. Other requirements have to be considered in the political processes, and many things here are "only" a matter of decision. One cannot mix the two requirements up without being punished, because this could lead to an economic collapse, and the rich opportunities of political pluralism could cease to exist before they even had a chance of becoming an organic part of everyday practice.

It is dangerous and harmful if the structural reorganization of our economy and the handling of our huge debts drop out of the focus of our attention, and if the modernization of our political institutions weakens, rather than serves, the solution of the above. The concept according to which complete political reform is the precondition for economic progress is mistaken and unilateral. This separation of tasks would lead to a situation in which the domestic policy movements become impossible to control. Only an organic unity of the two processes provides firm guarantees for the implementation of reforms.

We should also list the distortions and extremist manifestations present in our supply of information, including the mass media, among the reasons behind our current crisis. We have a precise opinion about publicity, information, party press organs, and about other means of mass information; we will submit this to the Central Committee for debate and approval in March.

Information about the session of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and working committees has become more substantial, diverse, and more qualitative. The party organizations now receive much more informative materials than previously, and I even heard complaints the other day claiming that this is too much, and they cannot work with so much material. Meetings of party leaders with the party aktiv and with people interested in politics have become more frequent. We have never talked at so many political events like we do today. We are giving a lot of interviews and writing a lot of articles.

The supply of information has changed both qualitatively and quantitatively in the past 10 months. At the same time, all this has been unable to counterbalance the position of a small but influential group working in the mass media, a position opposing the party and government policy. The problem does not lie in the fact that they write about the real events and facts, but in the fact that they deliberately exaggerate the mistakes and blame the entire party or the highest leadership for all the problems that occur in life and for some people's immoral or illegal attitudes. It also happens that false assertions are disseminated as facts in the world. This happened, for example, several times with *MAGYAR NEMZET*, the daily of a movement which the *MSZMP* has also joined.

A manipulation of the public mood against political and government efforts is under way and has appeared in certain articles and programs of mass media institutions operated under government supervision and by the state budget. The communist leaders and staff members of these institutions are unable to avoid this practice. One should also admit, of course, that there are considerable differences among the various state mass media institutions. While the daily of the Council of Ministers, *MAGYAR HIRLAP*, is committed to fulfill its mission, some programs of the Hungarian Radio and Television, institutions that are meant to represent all-national interests, aim at weakening the government and undermining the people's confidence. Everything that we can tolerate from the so-called independent press, cannot be tolerated from the official mass media institutions operated by the party and the government. Our problem today is no longer the fact that the press does not reflect reality, but that the press occasionally distorts this reality.

How could this develop in our press? This is partly an answer to our former information policy, namely the practice in which the highest echelons of the leadership repeatedly interfered in the activity of the editorial staff, judged the various articles each day, and sometimes even made administrative decisions. However, the lack of journalistic responsibility and overzeal on the part of those who most loudly supported and praised the bad practices of a mistaken policy of past decades are also to be blamed for this situation. These people now want to obliterate their own responsibility by this new practice. Unfortunately, the party press does not take a firm enough stand, a stand based on principles, against extremist views. All this causes disturbances not only among the party members but also among the non-party believers in socialism and people who think realistically.

The inciting attitude of the extremist elements of the opposition alternative organizations also plays a role in our deepening crisis.

While taking a passionate stand against our real weaknesses or our past mistakes, the calm representatives of these alternative associations and organizations who are concerned about the fate of our nation refrain from extremist manifestations and distance themselves from anarchy. Their readiness to cooperate is increasing and they are also seeking their own constructive guideline, settling their ranks, and accepting socialist construction as their goal, but they question the MSZMP methods. These forces represent a realistic possibility for the creation of a lasting political alliance.

The extremist wings of these alternative organizations increase the tension, take a stand against cooperation, and incite those under their influence against the regime. What are their tactics? First of all, they claim that the MSZMP should be divided up into several parts, in a "reform wing" and a "Stalinist wing" and this would

weaken the center. In this way they are trying to reduce the MSZMP's influence, and make those who abandon us join them. In their view, this could lead to a realistic balance of forces.

An apparent recognition of MSZMP supremacy is another element of their tactics. By this, they want to achieve two goals. First, to mislead those who have confidence in socialism as a social order, and second, to use the MSZMP as some sort of protective umbrella which would make their efforts "acceptable" by the socialist countries. Their tactics are clearly aimed at weakening the government and assuming power at the proper moment. They have various means and methods, including the denial of all our values and the inciting of distrust toward our basic political institutions, like Parliament, the local councils, and the Armed Forces.

Illusions Are Decreasing, and Feeling of Reality Is Increasing

I spoke about this in detail to make sure that we see the situation more clearly. We should not have any illusions. As far as one can understand from their declarations, the extremist wings of our political opponents do not want to improve socialism but instead want to eliminate it through peaceful means. They do not want to take a share in the problems, but they would like to carry out a restoration on the basis of our weaknesses.

Can we underestimate the extremist forces of the opposition organizations? No, but nor should we overestimate them. We are turning our attention to the creative forces of these organizations. Although the extremist circles do not yet represent a considerable political force and do not yet have a fully developed program, the tensions inherent in the economic development of the coming years could increase their numbers and expand their influence. Therefore, we are justified in asking whether time is on our side or on the side of the opposition? In my view, this depends on us, on our power, on the development of our mass influence. I am convinced that time is on our side.

We should acknowledge and encourage the valuable new positive processes that have emerged since the party conference. In spite of all the superficial negative phenomena, the activity is being carried out basically in the direction and pace outlined by the Central Committee, on the basis of the position of the party conference, and in accordance with the program adopted for the implementation of this position. However, this activity is not dynamic and efficient enough. One can see promising changes in political life. The knowledge of party members and of the entire society about the real situation and the period preceding the party conference is strengthening considerably. As a result, of course, some people are experiencing an increasingly critical spirit, and even a loss of confidence, but it is, nevertheless, much more important for the future that one has a clear view of the direction in which we should and can advance.

Illusions are decreasing and the feeling of reality and the awareness of a common responsibility are increasing. A sober recognition is spreading that the only way out for us is to increase our economic performance, and this requires primarily work: not more work, but more efficient and better work, constantly adjusting to the changing circumstances. One can notice this recognition among the economic leaders, most of the technical and economic intelligentsia, and among many workers, in their creative thinking, in their search for local opportunities and in exploring new resources.

Sterile Debates Only Divide Us

The demand for order and security and for maintaining political stability is noticeable on a social level. A decisive majority of people fear for the socialist order, the results achieved, and our international prestige. Many people have recognized that they could lose everything in an uncontrollable and anarchic situation. They reject such "prospects." They want to do away with the existing mistakes in socialism as soon as possible for the benefit of socialism. An increasing number of people understand that sterile political debates only divide society and increase conflicts, instead of strengthening cooperation, and this could lead to national dissension and social confrontation, rather than to the much desirable national unity.

Interest in politics, political activity, and public life has increased considerably. People are making their voices heard more in public affairs, and they want to participate in shaping these affairs. Self-organizing communities and associations are emerging which formulate sensible and attractive goals. Active local patriotism has increased, particularly in the smaller settlements. I think that the number of the so-called "silent mass" is decreasing. Those who are silent are not apathetic but they do their jobs and thus they support our political efforts and enrich our country.

Promising changes are taking place in the renewal of our political institutions. With increasingly courageous initiatives, the trade union movement, the KISZ, and the PPF are trying to get rid of the accumulated and obsolete forms and habits, and to widen their mass base.

Part of this positive overall picture is that our economic and political reform efforts have elicited great interest and sympathy from all over the world. It has been a long time since Hungary's international evaluation has been as positive as it is today, and we must preserve this positive image.

Among the promising new phenomena, I would like to particularly stress our unquestionable achievement of essentially fulfilling our economic goals for 1988. The importance of this achievement is only partially reflected in public knowledge, which is understandable because we are now in a strange situation in which almost everything that is an economic policy success is simultaneously a

burden for individual people. Therefore, we should highly appreciate the efforts and achievements of responsible working intellectuals and of all the workers in industry, agriculture, and in other areas. I would like to particularly stress that, in 1988, Hungarian agriculture achieved its greatest results in decades. All these things are promising, and I am convinced that these factors indicate the main direction of social and economic development.

Evaluation of 1956 Led to Debates

Esteemed Central Committee! In evaluating the current political situation, we should deal separately with a recent event that concerns the party members and the broad public alike. I mean here Comrade Imre Pozsgay's declaration to the Morning Chronicle program of the Kosuth station of Radio Budapest, broadcast again later on the "168 Hours" program on 28 January. The declaration dealt with the reevaluation of the events of 1956, and it led to extraordinary reactions, passionate debates, and extremist opinions. Thousands of letters arrived at the Central Committee, NEPSZABADSAG, and at the county party committees from party members and various collectives. I alone received more than 500 letters, most of them signed by entire communities. Many hundreds of party members returned their party membership card as a sign of protest. Most of the letter writers and the positions of various bodies reject the content and form of this declaration. At the same time, there were also quite a few people who agreed with the reevaluation of the events of 1956, and did not see anything wrong in the way this declaration was made public.

Because of the strong reaction, the Politburo discussed the situation at an extraordinary meeting held on 31 January. The Politburo did not make a decision. However, a majority opinion has emerged during the debate. The Politburo members consider such an evaluation of the events of 1956 to be unilateral. In their view, another unilateral approach has been voiced now to oppose the former unilateral approach. The procedure in which the working committee delegated by the Central Committee publishes the results of its analysis behind the back of the Central Committee which commissioned it for the job is not a correct one either.

The Politburo members also found this procedure unacceptable because the party leadership did not have the opportunity to prepare the party members in broad and open debates for a new and more complete evaluation of the events that took place 3 decades ago, and for the approval of this evaluation in an atmosphere free of passions. The Politburo did not decide on the matter because it did not consider itself to be competent to evaluate the activity of a working committee delegated by the Central Committee. Therefore, this body is calling upon the Central Committee to take a stand in connection with the recent events. In order to facilitate a calm and objective opinion, I will only quote as a reminder the

relevant passages of the Central Committee program for implementing the positions of the MSZMP Conference, a program adopted in June 1988:

"The Central Committee will establish a working committee to carry out a comprehensive scientific and political analysis of the 3 decades of social and economic development, and to review the government's program declaration. The committee will regularly inform the Central Committee about its activity and conclusions, to make it possible to use these results in the process of stabilization and development. The committee will report to the Central Committee before the 14th MSZMP Congress. Responsible for the committee: Imre Pozsgay. Deadline: end of 1989, and beyond...."

So much for our decision. Besides, the working committee mentioned in the quotation above is carrying out its activity in four subcommittees. We have sent the analysis of one of these subcommittees to the Central Committee members.

Disapproval and Expression of Confidence

In my view, today it is not our task to genuinely evaluate the study of this subcommittee, all the more so because, according to our basic principles of several decades, the Central Committee does not wish to decide on scientific issues. At the same time, we should decide whether the Central Committee finds this study suitable for an open party debate, so that the entire party movement could draw the necessary conclusions. It is the task of both science and politics to analyze this period.

If the body decides that the document can be made public, then I propose to publish it as soon as possible in a special issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE. I support this because I think the great value of this document is that it represents modern thinking even in its most questionable parts. As for the part dealing with 1956, it rejects the simplification that developed over the decades and according to which, contrary to the first evaluation of the events, it stressed exclusively the counterrevolutionary character of the events. The study has returned to the line of the first political evaluations and is striving to have a more complex approach to the subject. The study is making use of the fact that today, from a distance of more than 30 years, the evaluation of these events is less motivated by elements of passion.

Publication of the study is also justified by the fact that its arguments could calm the general mood. At the same time, publication of this study does not mean that the party is now taking an official stand in this matter, because there will be further exchanges of views, new facts will become known, and the study will also be reorganized. I propose all this, being aware of the fact that this study is, naturally, not of an equal level throughout, and, in my view, the analysis of more and new official documents is needed for a basic evaluation of the

1956 events themselves. Let us call upon the subcommittee to continue its activity, publish official documents, and by this, support a more diverse evaluation and help supply realistic information to the party members and the public at large. Aware of all this, and after considering the opinions accumulated during genuine and constructive debates, we will be able to return to the political evaluation of this period, the formulation of political lessons, and to the shaping of a party program. I think it is in the jurisdiction of the Central Committee to sum up the experiences and lessons.

We should also decide on what the Central Committee should do in the situation that has emerged after the declaration. The party members are expecting a firm position in this respect. I propose that the Central Committee conclude that it regards Comrade Imre Pozsgay's statement as premature and considers it to be incorrect that he did not inform the body in advance. The body should respect Comrade Pozsgay's principled convictions, and should not expect others to change their opinion in the wake of a party decision either. At the same time, the Central Committee assures Comrade Imre Pozsgay of its political confidence. The proposed position could show that there are no forbidden subjects for us, we do not want to hide anything from our past, and that we are taking an objective look at our weaknesses. We do this not in some sort of arbitrary way, but within the party's organizational order and discipline, without hindering anyone in freely expressing his thoughts and opinions and forcing him to give up his convictions.

Correcting the Distortions

I believe that our concept is in harmony with the opinion of calm party members who think objectively. To prove this, I would like to quote a few lines from one of the letters:

"Viharsarok Agricultural Cooperative basic party organization, Bekes County. Today, the party is divided, and this is normal at the threshold of a society undergoing qualitative renewal. Any personnel change in the Politburo now would lead to a break in the party. We should not silence or dismiss politicians, but the party members should be taught how to tolerate thoughts and opinions that encourage joint debates prior to making a decision."

Tens of thousands of party members ask themselves whether we needed this debate now. Is this the major problem facing Hungarian society today? No, unfortunately it is not this that is the major and most serious problem facing us today. At the same time, through clarifying debates, we should evaluate the lessons of the past 4 decades, correct the distortions, and draw conclusions. It is often painful to search into the past, and differences of opinion are inevitable, but one should accept all these things precisely for the benefit of the future. I think, nevertheless, that today we should mainly deal with issues connected with development, and with outlining where to go, what to do, and how to work. We

should also direct the attention of the society to these issues. Conducting passionate debates on issues that are on the agenda today and will influence our future, and confronting with each other the opinions on principled bases—this could be an efficient way of working out the best possible answers.

In addition to the analysis needed for political lessons, let us leave the complex analysis of the past to the historical sciences. It would be contrary to our principled convictions if, at any moment, we regarded the scientific examinations as concluded. A careful and calm approach to the subject from a political direction is also necessary because, in evaluating the events of 1956, we should think of people whose deep wounds could be opened by this, no matter the viewpoint from which we treat the subject. Comrade Pozsgay also knows this because, in the interview he gave to Zoltan Biro—the volume was published by the Eotvos-Puski Publishing House at the end of last year—he himself said the following:

"We will also find a historical formula for 1956, a formula that will perhaps be identical with the historical truth. However, for this, the time of half a generation has to pass because, I repeat, there are still generations here who would see opportunities for confrontation rather than opportunities for a national consensus in such a historical evaluation." This is quite correct.

Esteemed Comrades! I will now add a few thoughts to the written report on some topical political issues. I ask you to exchange views on this too, together with the written material, first of all, from the viewpoint of what conceptual changes and what kinds of political activity in the party are required by the transition to a multiparty system.

The decision of the party conference of May 1988 stipulated: "Socialist pluralism based on the leading role of the party is the condition and means of asserting and exercising people's power." This does not exclude the possibility of a multiparty system, nor does it commit itself to such a system. We thought that political pluralism in Hungary would emerge on the basis of a one-party system, by maintaining the leading role of the MSZMP. However, we had to acknowledge the fact that there is also a realistic demand in our society for the expression of different economic and political interests in the form of organized parties. According to the delegated working committee—also confirmed by the Politburo—any attempt to hinder the emergence of a multiparty system by political or administrative means would not benefit our long-term political interests.

Does a multiparty system derive from our constitutional statehood, from the emergence of social pluralism in Hungary? Not necessarily. Constitutional statehood is the totality of rules of a society's activity gathered in the form of laws, a framework in which every citizen—no matter what his position in the social division of labor—knows his obligations and enjoys his rights, and he also

knows what to expect if he violates the law. Therefore, a constitutional state can also exist without a multiparty system, just as social pluralism does not necessarily lead to party pluralism.

We should ask ourselves: If we had carried out a different policy following the party conference, could we have avoided the development of such a situation? In my view, the answer is no. The economic and political crisis in Hungary did not emerge following the party conference in 1988, but it had developed and deepened 10 to 15 years prior to this conference. It has become clear today that the strongly modernizing political system following 1956 was unable to avoid the subjective and mistaken economic decisions, the well-known mistakes in cadre policy, political inactivity, and the erosion of responsibility between party and government. Therefore, social confidence in the MSZMP, and subsequently, in the one-party system, decreased. As a result, many people today—politically correct and honest people—see in the multiparty system the guarantee of avoiding further mistakes.

A multiparty system is not a step forward on the road leading to democracy, it is only another form of democracy in public life. There are also many illusions connected with this. However, a party starting from the realities should accept this social evaluation and demand. Therefore, we should not take a stand against the multiparty system but we should think over how to influence the emergence of a multiparty system and what to do to make the MSZMP maintain its leading role also under the circumstances of a multiparty system. Thus, we should think over the process of transition. We have to decide on the methods with which we can work most efficiently in this period. The written document intends to provide a starting point for this.

The Conditions of Agreement in a Multiparty System

How long can the period of transition from a one-party system to a multiparty system last? This is very difficult to tell. I am convinced that this will be a long process. However, we can say with certainty that the National Assembly elections due in 1990 will close a very important phase in this transitional period. Obviously, the following years will really show what parties are able to create a constructive program and to what extent they can grow roots in the Hungarian social reality. Therefore, being aware of this, we have to firmly and deliberately prepare for the National Assembly elections due in 1990.

I am convinced that the MSZMP will be able to maintain its leading role under the circumstances of interparty agreements and of the subsequent open competition among them. Obviously, the power struggle that almost automatically accompanies a multiparty system could engage considerable political and social forces and could divert our attention and energy from more important tasks. The MSZMP accepts a gradual division of power in a predictable framework, and also outlines the limits and

framework of such power sharing, including its own concepts concerning the schedule and timetable of such a process. Only a principle of progressivity can be asserted here. The forced acceleration, or artificial hindering of these processes are equally dangerous. A destabilization of these processes, anarchy, would represent a serious danger. This is in no one's interest. This can be avoided only by the mutual responsibility of all the political factors, their moderation, and a reduction of distrust.

What should the basis of agreement be? First: acceptance of socialism as a historical alternative; second: respect for the fact that Hungary belongs to a military alliance until the two military alliances are simultaneously ended; third: the mutual and declared intention to prevent the deepening of crisis and to maintain social stability.

We can only accept officially registered political groupings as negotiating partners. We will have to set up a separate permanent group in the MSZMP to conduct these negotiations. The committee form that was proposed by the New March Front could be the framework for regular negotiations.

We Should Consolidate Our Political Unity

What should we do to successfully meet the challenge of the election struggle and be able to maintain the party's leading role? What are the major tasks facing the party movement today and in the future?

Our most important task is to consolidate the party's political and organizational unity. The leading bodies of the party need a conceptual unity that strengthens, rather than limits, the public activity of independent political leaders.

With party unity—for reforms!—this is the slogan we should have today. The ideological unity of the party and its leading bodies can emerge only in the process of daily political affairs and in the process of open and sincere debates. Unity cannot be ordered by decisions. We should follow a practice in which the party members can feel that they are active participants in shaping party policy. Therefore, in accordance with the decisions of the national party conference, the political leadership should regularly ask the party members' opinions, and should regularly submit the partial programs to a party debate.

Party democracy and party discipline are organically linked requirements. No one has the right to violate these requirements. Maintaining the principle of freedom of platform and working out its practice demand that controversial issues that concern the party and its policy should first be submitted to party forums. Only this can provide authority for the public dissemination of differing personal opinions, and only in this way can the confidence strengthen between the party members and the leadership.

The period since the national party conference has shown that the party members have confidence in the Central Committee; therefore, neither a new party conference, nor an extraordinary party congress are justified. The working style of the Politburo is becoming more up-to-date, and its activity of preparing decisions is gradually developing. However, as I have already mentioned, the diversity of public declarations made by its members gives party members and the public at large the impression of a power struggle. Therefore, more clarifying debates are needed at the body's meetings, and greater self-discipline is needed in public declarations.

The changed tasks of the Central Committee members are gradually included in the new working style of the entire party, a working style that is currently in formation. There is need for a creative cooperation of Central Committee secretaries, a cooperation that better coordinates the tasks facing the apparatus.

The party movement should take a stand with self-confidence and initiatives everywhere in favor of strengthening the positive processes, and against negative factors, thus ensuring the consistently developing, modern, and coordinated activity of the basic institutions of our society and our entire political system. We should take a firm stand against concepts that unjustly and unilaterally call the past 4 decades of our recent history simply an accumulation and maze of mistakes and crimes. Deriving power from our values, the Communists can proudly accept our jointly created achievements. As for the mistakes, they are not to be blamed, the responsibility lies with the leaders who caused these mistakes and distortions through their political shortsightedness and subjectivism.

At the same time, the MSZMP firmly rejects the campaign of revenge that divides the nation and has so often been repeated during our history. Our party aims at creating peace in society. Our party equally rejects the Stalinist and right-wing ideologies. Our party guarantees that, relying on its progressive national traditions, strengthening its international relations, and constantly renewing agreements, Hungary progresses on the road leading to socialism.

We should be consistent in continuing the shaping, renewal, and implementation of our comprehensive reform program. The MSZMP is striving to make the elements of this multilateral reform process organically adjust to each other. We reject every effort that hinders the success of reforms, alters its essence, turns the reform from a means into an end in itself, and pits its elements against each other.

It is our firm position that, although there can be order without reforms, awareness, order, and discipline are indispensable conditions for successful reforms. Only this way can the activity and individual initiatives of individuals and communities have a real meaning and goals. Society desires calm. There can be no value-creating work

without order and calm, and the country cannot prosper otherwise. Therefore, reform for us is not anarchy, but the road of calm, peaceful, and successful creative work that should always include a healthy impatience.

There Is A Way Out; There Is Sense in Sacrifices

We consistently continue to work on implementing the government program of stabilization adopted in September 1987. The results of 1988 show that there is a way out, and there is sense in making sacrifices. It is important to include the necessary and possible changes in the government program in time, on the basis of practical experiences. We should work out a long-term program to solve our society's housing problem, to advance the disadvantaged strata of society, to strengthen public order and morale, and to reduce the differences in development between certain areas of our country. We should reduce inflation to an acceptable level.

We should be strictly demanding in production. Let us restore the value of honest work. We should guarantee the safety of collectives that work effectively. One of the major responsibilities of all our economic units is to reveal and exploit the resources inherent in our economy. The rate of development of our people's economy can already be increased in the near future in a way that will contribute to improving our convertible balance of payments, better supplying the population with goods and services, and to modernizing the forces of production.

Economic restructuring requires consistent work, and it can be carried out only on the basis of a thorough examination of our entire economic structure. Existing resources, domestic needs, and the international division of labor can be the basis of structural modernization. Population resources and foreign working capital should be increasingly included in working out a mixed economy. In all areas, we should take a firmer stand against practices that harm the public interest and social morale.

We should also face the negative consequences of inevitable steps introduced in order to achieve economic stability. We know that this process cannot lead to results without temporary tensions. The period of stabilization can be reduced, and the conditions of development can be created more quickly if we have the creative cooperation of workers, cooperative peasants, and intellectuals. In proportion with their achievements, creative and diligent workers who do good quality work can improve their situation already in this difficult period.

Stabilization and development make it necessary, and the international conditions make it possible to continue our policy of opening to the world economy even more deliberately. The future of our nation will be determined by our ability to reduce our backwardness, catch up with the economically developed countries, and join the trend of world economic development. Ideological considerations do not limit us in expanding our international economic

relations. By searching for mutual advantages and correctly fulfilling our responsibilities, we want to cooperate with every partner who shows readiness to cooperate with us. We will create and gradually develop the necessary legal, economic, and institutional conditions for this.

An important task in the period ahead of us is to work out a uniform social policy and health care system, in harmony with the modernization of the social security and pension systems.

In our social policy, we should implement the principles of need and self-assistance more consistently. We will pay particular attention to supporting families and social strata that are in a difficult situation through no fault of their own. We will encourage various organizational forms of social care and community solidarity.

Getting Rid of the Stalinist Model

Increasing the prestige of knowledge and spiritual values is an essential condition for our progress. Education and scientific research have a key role in our future. Even under our current possibilities, we should pay proper attention to improving the financial conditions of education, professional training, and scientific research. We can expect the fastest reimbursement of allocations and the acceleration of economic development from these areas. At the same time, we should improve the conditions in all areas of science and culture by better exploiting the available resources and by increasing our economic performance.

We will continue to advance in the same line in developing our international relations by further increasing our foreign policy activity. We will fulfill our alliance responsibilities. In building our international relations we start from the political realities. We are ready to cooperate and conduct a dialogue with every state, political party, and international organization which has similar goals to ours. The Hungarian foreign policy is open, clear, and firm, and it represents the interests of our nation and is an active participant in international cooperation. We want to contribute to creating a Europe without military blocs, and to a considerable reduction of armaments.

We respect human rights and take a stand in defense of national minority interests. We highly appreciate the material and spiritual values created by other people, nations, national minorities, and ethnic groups. We reject nationalism and boasting of our Hungarian national traits [magyarkodás]. We reject all forms of religious and racial hatred.

We want to make use of the unparalleled historical opportunity, in which there is the greatest ever international interest and support for the implementation of our reform program.

On the basis of all these things, the MSZMP is striving to develop a free, independent, and democratic Hungary. We are striving to develop a socialist political system which will finally do away with the distortions known as the Stalinist model, and will not only achieve but will also exceed the results of the bourgeois world by making use of its results so far.

Esteemed Central Committee! I propose that, on the basis of today's debate, the Drafting Committee rewrite the written document and submit it for debate within the party. The Drafting Committee should sum up the experiences of this debate by the end of March and submit it to the Central Committee for approval.

Thank you for your attention.

Pozsgay Urges MSZMP To Change 'Style'
LD1602234489 Budapest MTI in English
2229 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and minister of state, began the second day of his visit to Tolna County in the Paks nuclear power plant on Thursday. The power plant, already operating at full capacity, provided 47.6 per cent of the domestic electric energy production in 1988.

In the afternoon, Mr Pozsgay held a roundtable discussion with representatives of the county's professionals. Discussing current issues of the economic and political reform process, Mr Pozsgay said, among other things:

We have to face what caused the country's ungovernability, in the broader sense why Eastern Europe became the most extensive crisis zone of the world. It can be increasingly clearly seen that the explanation can be found in the effects of the involuntarily accepted model that took a stand in the name of socialism in the second half of the 1940s. It would be self-deceit to leave this out of consideration.

A special burden of the Hungarian situation is that the recognition of the necessity of reform has, for twenty years, coexisted with the political conduct that prevents it.

A fundamental change in style and methods is necessary from the part of the HSWP: The policy of the party should be tested among the people, credit and support won for the goals and efforts that are in the interest of the nation.

Naturally, even amidst the circumstances of the multiparty system, the HSWP would like to safeguard its political influence and leading role, but it does not wish to set the rules of the political fight by itself, Mr Pozsgay said.

Imre Pozsgay Interviewed on Party Plenum
PM1702090889 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
15 Feb 89 p 13

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Andrea Tarquini in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpts] Budapest—"I am pleased with the party plenum," Imre Pozsgay said. "It confirmed what I have said by proclaiming that 1956 began as a people's uprising. I will continue my battle precisely because we are moving toward pluralism. When parties are free, many sides will raise this issue, and we communists will be making a fatal mistake if we do not tell the truth first. I believe that by 1992 the cause of reform will prevail in all the socialist countries, and I hope so. Because if a conservative regression were to prevail instead, it would remain in power a long time." [passage omitted]

[Tarquini] Dr Pozsgay, would you not have rather heard the full truth about 1956 from the Central Committee?

[Pozsgay] The final document and the historians' commission report do in fact acknowledge that a people's uprising exploded in October 1956 and that its roots lay in the Stalinist years, which humiliated the nation. They also point out that the Stalinists in Budapest curbed and dashed the hopes created by Khrushchev with the 20th CPSU Congress and thus exacerbated the country's high feelings. Of course they also add that counterrevolutionary forces and common criminals joined the tide of protest, but this was already said by Bibó, Kovács, Nemeth, and others of Imre Nagy's ministers. It is no less important that the document says that it was the weakness of the forces for reform within the party that made the crisis inevitable.

[Tarquini] What do you consider to be the priority now: the transition to a multiparty system or the real truth about 1956? Is it possible to achieve the former objective without the latter?

[Pozsgay] I raised the 1956 issue because I realize that if a multiparty system is established here, 1956 and assessments of Imre Nagy's role will become subjects of open political debate. It would be a defeat for the communist party if the reappraisal of 1956 events remained confined to an obsolete assessment. In a future pluralistic parliament any deputy will be able to request a new discussion of those tragic days.

[Tarquini] Is the transition to pluralism really inevitable and certain?

[Pozsgay] Yes, I repeat that it is inevitable, and I have in mind the deputies who some day, in the principal chamber of this [parliament] building, will demand an explanation of 1956 and will have powers to monitor the government. The transition to pluralism is indispensable to satisfy the country's needs, and within a future context of open political interplay we communists will have no

use for conclusions about the past based on preconceptions. Herein lies the importance of the party's future plan of action, which must be a platform for freedom, and of the guarantee of a free internal debate within the communist party's ranks both on the issues of the past and on the challenges of the future.

[Tarquini] What will be the next concrete steps toward pluralism and toward the truth about 1956?

[Pozsgay] The conversion to a multiparty system will bring to light movements of opinion and currents of ideas that could even result in new major historical tidal waves and shocks. However, I believe above all that we will soon see the development and growth of three currents of thinking, three predominant political trends: The communist party could be a modern left-wing party open to the center; then currents similar to Western social democratic groups will emerge; and centrist-populist currents. These forces could even form coalitions that must be planned through long and careful negotiations. Second, but equally important, the vast circles of the Hungarian intelligentsia will succeed in extending the basis of support for reform. As for a reappraisal of 1956, again it will be up to the independent groups to have their say, with attention to the historical and political consequences of those events.

[Tarquini] Party General Secretary Grosz has said that there never was a Pozsgay case, despite the controversies that divided you before the plenum precisely over your statements about 1956. Grosz also stressed the essential need for party unity. Do you agree with his remarks?

[Pozsgay] I agree with the statement that there is no Pozsgay case: I have opted for the risk of consistency for the past 20 years. I speak, I say what I believe to be the truth, and I have never made any self-criticisms, nor has anyone ever asked me to do so. I also believe in the need to preserve party unity, but there must be agreement on the foundations of unity. I have expressed certain opinions precisely with a view to establishing a new foundation for party unity, namely, freedom of expression. I believe that new conditions will emerge in which party unity will be insured by a constant free debate and no longer by spectacular turnabouts or matters of prestige. As I told the Central Committee, open debate will be our salvation. Do you know why so many young people are leaving us and so few trust us? Because for too long the party has seemed like an organization that you could only enter by leaving your personality behind.

[Tarquini] Do you not believe that the reform is too little and too late?

[Pozsgay] Actually from all our foreign friends—both our allies and our Western friends—we are receiving exhortations to caution, recommendations to proceed moderately and gradually. I am talking not about pressures but about friendly and helpful attention from all over the world. The difficulties are internal: how to

reconcile and counterbalance the conflicting demands for the gradualism essential to any transition with the pressing demands of society and of the economic crisis. We have no magic formulas, only the hope of moderation on the part of everyone involved. I see two conditions for success: that the party decide to extricate itself from its old position of defending its power privileges and that it reach an understanding with the opposition that can create new guarantees of no return to the old order. It was such an understanding that the reformers lacked in 1953, 1954, and 1956.

[Tarquini] Are you afraid of a conservative recovery?

[Pozsgay] The quicker and more thorough the transition process, the less this risk will be. However, it is equally true that with the future freedoms scope will be granted even to those who dislike freedom. Civil liberties, or bourgeois freedoms, the right to establish parties and organizations, and freedom of the press will grant scope even to them. I do not believe that they can gain any major support among the population, but there is always a risk that they will try to distort the party's plans or to exploit anarchic situations, as happened in 1956. If so, I repeat, a return to tyranny and arbitrariness would be long-lasting.

[Tarquini] Will the reappraisal of 1956 include a reassessment of Kadar's role?

[Pozsgay] Certainly there must be a consistent reappraisal, which cannot omit a reassessment of the role played by Kadar, who was a key figure both then and later, for the following 30 years. We will raise the issue without any spirit of revenge.

[Tarquini] The socialist world seems increasingly divided between countries committed to reform, such as yours or Poland and the Soviet Union, and others stubbornly defending the old order. Will these divisions increase between now and 1992 and the EC without borders?

[Pozsgay] You are right: In the present situation there is a clear and apparently increasing divergence between the different orientations within the socialist world, between those wanting reforms and those hindering them. However, we must look more closely, beyond appearances, and pay more attention to which invisible forces are working for reform—like Marx' "old mole of history"—even in countries where a different approach from ours prevails. I believe that the crisis common to all the socialist countries will bring the cause of reforms victory by 1992. It is the only hope for regenerating this part of Europe.

[Tarquini] In abandoning the Leninist dogma of the party's leading role, is your intention to move closer to Europe's social democratic currents or to Eurocommunism?

[Pozsgay] We do not identify with social democracy but we want to become once again an integral part of Europe's cultural heritage, of the European Left. If the

Hungarian communist party manages to revise its principles and structures and becomes capable of gaining a political role in a free political struggle, then we will return to a cultural and historical continuity with our predecessors and the predecessors of today's social democrats. [passage omitted]

Nemeth Holds Discussions While Touring District

'Avoidance' of Party Split

LD1602152889 Budapest MTI in English
1353 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The main achievement of the recent session of the HSWP CC was the avoidance of a split within the party, said Premier Miklos Nemeth during discussions at district party headquarters whilst visiting Budapest's 11th district on Thursday. The mood of the population in the area had been considerably influenced by recent events, the discussion revealed. In response to this, the Hungarian PM said that the way the issue had broken out in party circles and public opinion indicated the danger that the CC might split into "fundamentalists" and "reform communists". The fact that this was successfully avoided was of great significance, not only from the point of view of preserving the fighting spirit, but also in the interest of economic recovery and its functioning.

He stated that he agreed with and accepted the contents of the report by the historic subcommittee, adding that the nuances of the incriminatory interview with Imre Pozsgay (broadcast on January 28th in Hungarian radio's "168 Hours" programme—ed.) were controversial. We must face up to the past, said Mr Nemeth. If the HSWP does not discuss its past with self-criticism and in the light of the criticism of others, then we are actually speaking of a party and government unable to keep in step with events. This might cause the party to lose its legitimacy [as received] and public confidence for good. The HSWP had made the mistake of failing to recognize the great danger of giving the job of evaluating its own historical past to others, thereby being forced to take a defensive position. This is one of the major mistakes and responsibilities of the present party and government leadership. In this context, we have to evaluate Imre Pozsgay's role positively in having urged the party leadership to take a firm stand on the issues of pluralism, freedom of platform and a multi-party system. In addition, it gave an impetus in the elaboration of a timetable for the next party congress.

Discusses 1956 Events

LD1602232989 Budapest MTI in English
2219 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political committee and chairman of the government, visited the 11th district of Budapest on Thursday. In the morning, Mr Nemeth heard reports by the party and council leaders of the district in Buda, which

has some 50,000 residents. Mr Nemeth discussed the recent session of the HSWP Central Committee, the most important result of which was that it avoided a break within the party, he said. With respect to the evaluation of 1956, there was the danger that the Central Committee would break into the groups of fundamentalists and reform Communists.

Mr Nemeth said he accepts the study of the historical committee, but added that the objected interview made with Imre Pozsgay was not sufficiently many-sided. The past has to be faced, otherwise the party will once and for all lose its legitimacy and the last remnants of confidence. The speech of Imre Pozsgay should be evaluated as positive in the sense that he forced the party leadership to take a position in the issues of pluralism, platform freedom and the multi-party system, Mr Nemeth said. With respect to the evaluation of the 1956 events, Mr Nemeth noted that the party leadership is to ask the competent officials of the Soviet Union to make available, as soon as possible, certain secret archive documents.

In conclusion, Mr Nemeth announced, also in reaction to the remarks heard that he will probably decide about the renewal of the government in April. In his view, new faces are needed in the Council of Ministers.

The prime minister visited the centre of the national petroleum and gas industry trust, one of the large companies of the district. Mr Nemeth held talks with leaders of several companies of the district, and with parliamentary MPs.

As stated, the government is preparing a new work programme. Mr Nemeth noted it will not mean rejection of the main goals of the stabilization programme. The reform of the CMEA was also discussed at the meeting, and Mr Nemeth said that the mechanism can be renewed only as the result of a long process.

The prime ministers programme ended in the Hungarian cable works, where he met with representatives of workers and was briefed on the economic results of the company founded 106 years ago. Mr Nemeth asked people present to forward the thanks of the government for the understanding which they showed with their disciplined, sober and moderate conduct in connection with the price rises that brought pressing and major loads.

Social Democratic Party Holds Rally

LD1602235589 Budapest MTI in English
2152 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary held a rally of introduction on Thursday in Budapest.

Andras Revesz, president of the party, discussed the traditions of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, celebrating its 100th anniversary this year, the prominent stages of its past and its outstanding politicians. He

particularly recalled Anna Kethly, a prominent leader of the party, who died abroad. The activists of the party now being organized discussed the law on strikes currently under preparation.

Tibor E. Baranyai and Sandor Bacskaï, members of the party's organizing committee, discussed the prospective relations of the trade unions and the party, and organizational issues. It was reported at the rally that party organizations have been set up in 18 of the capital's 21 districts, and in some 80 places in the provinces, and some 8,000 people have joined the Social Democratic Party of Hungary that has renewed its activity January 9 this year.

Israeli Religious Affairs Minister Concludes Visit

Normalization of Ties 'Expected'

LD1702132289 Budapest MTI in English
2048 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Zvulun Hammer, Israeli minister for religious affairs, qualified his visit to Hungary as very successful at a press conference. Mr Hammer and State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the Hungarian State Office for Church Affairs, met the representatives of the international and the Hungarian press in Budapest on Wednesday.

This was the first official visit to Hungary by an Israeli minister. (The recent visits to Hungary by some Israeli politicians were of a private nature.) Mr Hammer returned now the visit to Israel of Mr Miklos last September. The Israeli minister met Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, and Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister. He visited the Central Board of Hungarian Jews, and met Karoly Toth, president of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary, and Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom and president of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Bench.

Mr Hammer expressed the hope that his visit promoted the development of Hungarian-Israeli inter-state relations, and announced that he had taken a message from Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to Miklos Nemeth, head of the Hungarian Government. The Hungarian side, he said, made a very favourable approach to the issues on the agenda.

In reply to a question, Mr Hammer said that, unless there are some disturbing developments, the two countries can be expected to normalize their relations in the first half of this year. If this happens, the Israeli side hopes that Mr Nemeth will accept the invitation to Israel which was extended.

Mr Hammer said that the way Jewry found its place in Hungarian society and the related attitude of the Hungarian Government and the other churches made a deep impression on him.

Mr Hammer left Budapest in the afternoon.

Holds News Briefing

LD1602094889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The official visit to Hungary of the Israeli minister for religious affairs has ended. [passage omitted] Miklos Attila Nemeth took part in Zvulun Hammer's news conference this afternoon:

[Begin Nemeth recording] [Passage omitted] The Israeli minister of religious affairs discussed with leaders of the Hungarian churches the possibility for concrete pilgrimages. Truth, equality, love of mankind, and helping people approach each other—these are the essence of religion, according to the formulation of the minister, who also said that while Israel is the holy land for every religion, as a state it came into existence for the Jewish people. Israel is the spiritual center of Jewry; as such, it offers help first and foremost for the spiritual and cultural life of Hungarian Jewry. Apart from this, they also consider important the safeguarding of the values of the past. In answer to a question, Zvulun Hammer said that they cannot give direct material assistance for the restoration of the Dohany Street Synagogue in Budapest, but that they will urge that a new fund, similar to the Emmanuel Foundation, come into being in the interest of this objective.

In connection with 'Arafat's visit to Hungary in the near future, the minister stated that, although they are not happy about the fact in Israel, the good relations they are shaping with other countries cannot be threatened by the opinions others hold about the Middle East situation. The minister for religious affairs also said that their normalizing relations with the socialist countries might, perhaps, indirectly help the settlement of the Middle East issue. [end recording]

Leaders Greet Iranian Counterparts on National Day

AU1602160989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 11 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Presidential Council President Bruno F. Straub sent a telegram of congratulations to Ayatollah Khomeyni, Iran's religious leader; to Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i; and to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, who was also greeted by Istvan Stadinger, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly. Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, expressed his good wishes in a telegram of congratulations to Iranian Prime Minister Musavi.

Massacre by Soviets in World War II Reported
LD1702091489 Warsaw PAP in English
1855 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The Warsaw weekly "ODRODZENIE" (published by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), dated February 18, published four pages of the text of a "Confidential Report by the Polish Red Cross" [PRC] from Katyn near Smolensk, found in the British archives. A PRC delegation had done exhumation and identification work there in the period April-June 1943.

The PRC technical commission dug out a total of 4,243 corpses in the Katyn forest in the period April 15-June 7, 1943, which were subsequently reburied.

This "Confidential Report" was drawn up by the Polish Red Cross Secretary General Kazimierz Skarzynski and presented in June 1943 to a meeting of the PRC main board.

In June 1945, the type-written copy of this document, existing in one copy only, was submitted by him, according to K. Skarzynski, to the charge d'affaires of the British Embassy in Warsaw, Mr. Hankey. The document reached London, judging by notes made by the Foreign Office, in the Spring of 1946. It was rated top secret and kept away from the government in exile (Polish). At that time and later on the British Government distanced themselves from that matter not to see their international relations deteriorated, the discoverer of the document Prof Wlodzimierz T. Kowalski writes. The document, files No N/5269, is kept in the Foreign Office records in London.

The weekly "ODRODZENIE" prefaced the text of the "Confidential Report" with an introduction by Prof Jarema Maciszewski, co-chairman of the joint commission of the party historians for research into the history of relations between (Poland) and the Soviet Union, as well by introductory remarks by Prof Kowalski.

Prof Maciszewski thinks the discovered document is important and says it has been unknown so far either to researchers or to the public. It contains a number of pieces of important information concerning the methods of the exhumation and identification work, data pertaining to the number of victims, specificity of individual graves, etc. The document also reports in a reliable way on the conditions of the work of the PRC technical team, the character of interference on the part of the German overseers and reveals some of the mechanisms of the German propaganda.

The document, Jarema Maciszewski continues, is a relevant complement to the Red Cross reports, known and substantially published in the West, and allows to verify and concretize some of the assertions contained therein. The details of information contained in Skarzynski's material can be instrumental in attempting

to reconstruct "the act one of the Katyn drama," or the course of events having to do with the mass murder of the thousands of Polish officers.

Prof Maciszewski states that of particular importance is Skarzynski's evidence for the complete presentation or recalling of the fine civil attitude of the Polish Red Cross workers who performed their difficult and tragic mission in the sense of the patriotic and humanitarian duty. They did not let them be drawn in the least measure into the cogs of the German propaganda, correctly reasoning that if the Soviet Union was at war with the Nazi Germany, then regardless of the situation and one's own point of view upon the events of 1940 and 1941 one must not aid German propaganda in anything. That responsible attitude was reflected by the PRC's resolute refusal to the Nazis to publicly define in any form the date of the crime (despite the danger of the harshest consequences). The defining of the date of the Katyn murder is tantamount to the unequivocal fingering at the perpetrators, Maciszewski concludes.

The man who discovered the document in the Foreign Office archives writes that in the course of elucidating the so called blank spots in Polish-Soviet relations the public opinion displayed the greatest interest and emotions with regard to the fates of Polish officers interned by the Soviet authorities in three camps: Kozyelsk, Starobyelsk, Ostashkov after September 17, 1939. The case of officers from Kozyelsk (with the exception of a small number transported to a camp in Gryasovets) found a tragic explanation after their mass graves were discovered in Katyn in April 1943.

The issue is subject to a thorough examination, the topic being frequently raised in the USSR and Poland, especially by the Polish Government spokesman (twice) and by chairmen of the Polish and Soviet sides of a joint commission of historians, professor Jarema Maciszewski and academician Georgiy Smirnov in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland. In his afterword to statements by Polish and Soviet intellectuals at the royal castle in Warsaw Gorbachev wrote among other things: "Now—on the annihilation of Polish officers in Katyn. Many people in Poland are convinced that this was the work of Stalin and Beria. At present the history of that tragedy is subject to a meticulous examination."

Irrespective of opinions voiced for years, or more or less widespread beliefs, historians perceive the need to explain possibly all circumstances of that crime, and this requires searching for an access to new documents especially from the archives of the apparatus which at the time was supervised by Beria.

In the years 1943-1944, as a result of work carried on the site of the crime, three documents of various degrees of credibility were published on the matter in question:

1. A protocol by an international group of specialists and experts in forensic medicine and criminology from 12 countries, set up thanks to efforts of head of the Third

Reich's health service Dr L. Conti—published in Berlin in May, 1943. Of that group, only Francois Naville (Switzerland) did not come from a country occupied or controlled by Germany.

2. "An Official Material on Mass Crime in Katyn. Compiled, Elaborated and Published on the Basis of a Documentary Evidence by the German Information Bureau on the Orders of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—published in Berlin in the Spring of 1943.

3. "The Communiqué by the Special Commission for Ascertaining and Examining the circumstances of Executing by the Nazi invaders of POW's—Polish Officers in the Katyn Forest," published January 24, 1944, in Moscow.

After 1945, published were various reports abroad which expressed either personal experiences or tackled the problem in a fragmentary manner while a Polish comprehensive document was lacking. Recently, following the toilsome quests, I have managed to discover a document at the London public records office, presenting the attitude of the main board of the Polish Red Cross.

Prof Kowalski writes Kazimierz Skarzynski affixed his own commentary while passing the document on to the British Embassy in 1945, written in June that year. That commentary contained assessments influenced by emotions, current political events, including the polemics over the communiqué by the special commission and, particularly, indignation over the presentation of the Katyn affair by the authorities in Warsaw. The historical merit of this comment cannot be treated on par with the "Confidential Report," which registered the events on the current basis. Seven years later, while testifying before the so-called Madden Commission, called into being by the 82nd Congress of the U.S. to explain the Katyn crime, K. Skarzynski was reporting as if he forgot what he had contained in his "Confidential Report" (example of lapse of time and weakened memory).

Włodzimierz T. Kowalski says that the separateness of the "Confidential Report" from the subsequent comment by Skarzynski is clearly marked.

The "Confidential Report" has two large parts. The first one contains reports on the PRC's work at Katyn till April 16. On April 18, Skarzynski made a report to the main board, from which it followed i.a. that:

1. Near Smolensk, at the locality of Katyn, there are partially undug mass graves of Polish officers,
2. Basing on the examination of some 300 corpses so far dug out, one can state these officers were killed by shots to the back of the skull while the same type of these wounds corroborates a mass execution,
3. The murder was not of a robbery type, as corpses were in uniforms, with orders and shoes on, with considerable amounts of Polish coins and banknotes on them.
4. Judging from the papers found on the corpses, the murder took place in the March-April-1940 period.

In the first part of the report, Skarzynski also writes: "The place between the older pines was overgrown by, in my opinion, self-sown pine plants since the time of the murder. These pine plants are said to indicate the executions must have taken place in the Spring of 1940. A forester has gone on record as stating the same age of the pines, also on the basis of the root-reading. I have not seen the pines growing on the graves, as the latter were already undug".

The second part included a "report by the Technical Commission", which says i.a. that the work was discontinued on April 17, 1943, following the arrival of the delegation composed of Polish officers—prisoners of war from oflag [German prison camp for officers] in Germany. Lt Col Stefan Mossor was the most senior officer. The behaviour of the Polish officers towards the Germans was aloof and full of dignity. During the short conversation on the side, they acknowledged with obvious satisfaction that the PRC was dealing, exclusively, with the technical aspect of exhumation work, distancing itself completely from "the political side".

Summing up the report, Skarzynski writes i.a. "it follows from the bullets taken out from the corpses of the officers and shells found in the sand that the shots were fired from small arms, caliber 7.65 mm.

"They seem to be of German origin. For fear of the Bolsheviks using this opportunity, the German authorities were attentively watching lest any bullet, any shell be hidden by members of the Polish Red Cross Commission. That order was naive and execution of its implementation impossible: besides, trusted NKVD functionaries performing the Katyn murder might have had small arms of any origin."

In conclusion Skarzynski underlines the selfless work of members of the technical commission who personally exhumed the corpses from a water-filled ditch. "The ditch in question is the one I saw myself while in Katyn. It was stretching along the lower edge of one of seven large graves whose terraces descended down to the lowland. It was filled with subsoil water on the surface of which protruded parts of corpses. The Germans promised to provide pumps for exhumation and it remained unemptied until the last days of the work. One day Mr Wodzinowski saw Russian workers fill up the ditch. He immediately stopped the work and learned that in view of constant Soviet air raids and fire alert, the military could not provide the pump and one could not demand that workers carry out exhumation of this kind. Then, five members of the Polish Red Cross Technical Commission led by Mr Wodzinowski descended into the ditch and during 17-hour-work personally recovered 46 bodies of Polish officers.

Further Reportage on Strikes, Settlements

16 Feb Strike Status

LD1702085989 Warsaw PAP in English
0114 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—Thursday was another day of unrest in many enterprises across Poland. Work stoppages, strikes, and conflicts chiefly over wages but not only, are increasingly often reported.

Thursday was the 7th day of a strike in the Piotrkow Trybunalski city transport depot. Not a single bus left the PKS road transport's passenger department in Kolo Thursday morning. The strikers want more pay and negotiations with the administration are continuing.

Workers of a hosiery works "Sandra" in Aleksandrow near Lodz declared a sit-in strike at all departments. The over 800 crew of a fruit and vegetable processing plant in Sroda Wielkopolska also went on strike for economic reasons to be back to workstands in the evening.

The strike of 500 city transport workers in Starachowice continues for about 24 hours now, while the director of the enterprise stepped down. There was a brief work stoppage Thursday held by part of the crew at the "Tonsil" plant in Wrzesnia.

A strike continues at the knitting works "Mewa" in Bilgoraj and at the construction machinery "ZREMB" in Ciechanow where some 400 employees are on a sit-in strike. Hopes are that this one will end during the night.

Federation of the NSZZ (Independent, Self-governed Trade Union) of the workers of milk industry's transport "Trans-Mlecz" in People's Poland, based in Poznan, started a nationwide protest action last Wednesday not to make pay demands but only to press for the introduction of a right organisational model in which the crews would have a direct influence on the division of the effects of their work.

Vice-chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Employees of Light Industry Zbigniew Kaniecki told PAP about the talks with the government, starting in the coming days, over the pay problems of their workers.

Conciliatory ending of disputes and conflicts between the strikers and the administration are also reported. Workers of the rolling stock repair works in Ostrow [word indistinct] resumed work after a one-day strike (Feb 15) when they won a pay increase which did not fully satisfy them. They suspended their strike on condition that the managers respond within a week to the other postulates concerning the re-organisation of the enterprise, among other things.

Also on Thursday workers of the plan producing ropes and wire "Drumet" in Wloclawek dismantled the strike alert which had continued throughout the last week. The conflict was mainly about wages but the economic points made by the director convinced the workers.

Another conciliatory solution closed a several-hour pay dispute at the cotton plan in Lodz also today. After a three-day strike at a state-run farm Stanomino in northern Poland all the employees resumed work having been promised higher wages.

Warsaw TV Reports Strikes

LD1602190689 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Today was another uneasy day in many workplaces. The strike at the voivodship municipal transport enterprise in Piotrkow Trybunalski is in its 7th day. No buses left the state motor transport passenger depot in Kolo this morning. The workforce of the Sandra Hosiery Plant in Aleksandrow Lodzki has declared a sit-in strike. The more than 800-strong workforce of the fruit and vegetable processing plant in Sroda Wielkopolska has stopped work. The 500-strong workforce of the municipal transport enterprise in Starachowice is on strike. A section of the workforce of the Tonsil Plant in Wrzesnia has also staged a work stoppage. The strike action at the Mewa Plant in Bilgoraj is continuing. The sit-in strike by 400 people at the Zremb Plant in Ciechonow is being extended.

All these strikes have an economic basis.

Further on Strike Status

LD1602231289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The situation is still not calm in many of the country's factories. The increasingly frequent reports of work stoppages, of strikes beginning, of conflicts mainly, although not only, for pay, do not give rise to optimism. [passage omitted]

The strike by the work force of the Municipal Transport Enterprise in Starachowice has now lasted 24 hours. In view of the earlier demands by the work force, the director of the enterprise has tendered his resignation. [passage omitted] The strike continues at the Morfeo Cotton Plant. [passage omitted]

Through the country, a protest action is in progress in milk transportation. The participants in the protest stress that the aim of the action is not pay demands, but only an attempt to introduce an organizational model which would guarantee the effective use of the motor pool. Zbigniew Kaniewski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Light Industry Employees, has reported that talks are to begin in the next few days

between representatives of the government on the pay issues of employees in this sector. Work forces will be kept informed about those talks as they take place. [passage omitted]

Wloclawek, Lodz Strikes End

LD1602172889 Warsaw PAP in English
1649 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The Wloclawek-based lines and wires factory "Drumet" called off today the strike alert that lasted one week. The dispute with the management concerned mainly wages.

Meanwhile, employees of the Obroncow Pokoju cotton plant in Lodz started Thursday a few-hour dispute with the management over pay. Also this case ended in an agreement and the workers promised to make up for the losses caused by the break in the production during their days-off.

Lublin Transport Strike Ends

LD1602155889 Warsaw PAP in English
1333 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—A two-day strike for higher wages ended today at the "Transbud" construction transport enterprise in Lublin, eastern Poland. Work proceeded as normal today.

Spinners also returned to work at the "defenders of peace" spinning factory in Lodz.

Commentary on Consequences of Continuing Strikes

LD1602104689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Piotr Krol commentary]

[Text] I watch with enormous unease the information rattled out by the telexes on new strikes, on every higher wage increase demands, on announced protest and strike actions.

I suppose that the spreading mechanism is straightforward: If others succeeded then why shouldn't we try? If others who earn the same, or more, get increases then we deserve increases, too, as it becomes ever more difficult to make ends meet. Perhaps I'm simplifying, but I'm trying to look at the matter first from the side of those who are protesting against the low pay for their work, against poor working conditions, and also, I judge, against the lack of respect for their worth in the place where they spend a significant part of their lives.

However, this is only part of the necessary thinking in such matters. The other part forces one, above all, to look realistically at the tragic—there are no other words to use—state of our economy. Tragic not because we do not have anything to eat today, but because both the

developmental perspectives and the possibilities of creating a better life in Poland tomorrow are very modest. Modest because of inadequacies in material supply, worn out machine stock, significantly outdated technology, low quality of production, poor work productivity, bad organization, indebtedness to the world, and so on. This has been discussed so much that there is no need to repeat everything from beginning to end, including the fact that our own experience teaches us that strikes do not make things better, that this road leads to nowhere.

There is probably no adult in Poland today who has not noticed that for a few days now the roundtable deliberations have been continuing. The matter of the working people's living standard is a basic question in these deliberations, though it is also debated through the prism of politics, the trade unions, the state and the whole economy. For instance, the matter of indexing incomes is on the agenda of the deliberations, the system of evening out the effects of inflation, increasing wages according to set rules. Do those striking today not know this, or is it that they know and wish to achieve a better starting position? What will happen if others follow them?

I would not wish to multiply these questions, especially I would not wish to teach anyone how he is to think about his affairs and about our mutual affairs. But, if I can just add, I judge that there already exists a real threat not only to the idea of the roundtable, the idea of focusing on Polish matters all rational thinking political and social forces; in my opinion what is also threatened is the possibility of rationally controlling the economic situation, of coming out of the crisis with the lowest social cost possible. And in addition, the fear could be realized that the Polish economic crisis will pass into world history as the longest crisis of unexploited and wasted chances.

Rakowski Interviewed on Roundtable, Solidarity

PM1602105489 Paris LE FIGARO in French
14 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by Arielle Thedrel—date, place not given]

[Text] [Thedrel] It took 5 months for the roundtable between your government and the opposition, initially scheduled for mid-October last year, to finally start. Until the past few weeks there seemed to be deadlock. On 12 December, in an interview to the newspaper DIE WELT, you were still saying that Solidarity's legalization was impossible. What made you change your mind?

[Rakowski] I am still hostile to Solidarity's relegalization. However, I am in favor of forming a new Solidarity trade union. In my view, relegalization means returning to the situation which prevailed in 1980-1981. What I think is important is to find out whether or not Solidarity will be a trade union. In 1981, Solidarity was not a

trade union, but described itself as a social movement, which suggested that it was a political movement. Consequently, relegalization would mean restoring Solidarity in that form. I am opposed to that. I imagine that there will be very fierce discussions on this subject, but I hope that we will find a compromise.

Why did it take so many months to start the roundtable? I have just read a commentary by a rather stupid journalist stating that it was I who prevented the opening of negotiations. That is not true. I do not have such power. Moreover, I did not prevent the negotiations because I am one of the architects of this roundtable. I have long been convinced that Poland needs a national accord.

The reason for this delay is that it took us longer than we had initially thought. Political groups which have been in confrontation for years are now at this roundtable. What does the roundtable mean? It means that the opposition is recognized as a component of Polish political life. It took us time to come round to that idea.

A Guarantee of Industrial Peace

[Thedrel] The PZPR still seems to be far from unanimous about recognizing Solidarity. However, do you think that this is possible? If so, on what conditions and in what form?

[Rakowski] If the party was unanimous, you would say that it was Stalinist. Obviously, any party has reference points on which its policy is based. But, once those major lines are recognized, there is a division of opinions. I think that that is very positive.

At the 10th plenum, the majority of Central Committee members adopted the viewpoint put forward by General Jaruzelski and I. It is difficult for me to say whether divisions can be established within the party. Those divisions existed when Solidarity's legalization presented a problem. There is now no longer a problem. People have grown accustomed to that idea. Of course, there will always be dissenting voices, but they do not form a big group.

The precondition for relegalizing Solidarity is for that legalization to be a guarantee of industrial peace. There would be a problem if Solidarity adopted a demanding attitude as it did in 1980 and 1981. In present conditions, that would be very bad for the country. We would like the Polish trade union to behave like the Swedish trade unions. When the Swedish economy was in difficulty, the trade unions themselves abandoned any strike action. I do not want the enterprises in Poland to become a political battlefield. That is a real threat, because, if there are two trade unions, they will be in competition and will try to raise the stakes. Moreover, Solidarity activists have recently acquired a taste for politics.

[Thedrel] Last fall the government refused to allow some of the people appointed by Mr Walesa—notably Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik—to be present at the roundtable. This time, the participation of Mr Kuron and Mr Michnik, who were for a long time described by the authorities as "extremists paid by the West," does not seem to have presented any problem. How can you explain that?

[Rakowski] I do not think that it is a problem. Your question surprises me. It has no importance. It is past history. Mr Michnik and Mr Kuron have recently made statements which we regard as satisfactory. I am waiting to be able to read the interview which Mr Kuron gave to the (official—LE FIGARO editor's note) monthly KONFRONTACJE. I am looking at things from a political viewpoint: Is the participation of these people in the roundtable appropriate or not for the interests which I represent? If it is, I have nothing against it. It is circumstances which have changed.

With regard to the problem of Western aid to the opposition, it will always exist. It means that Poland's sovereignty is being violated. I think that I can say that the opposition representatives are aware of that. They know that it is their weak point and they will certainly try to find a solution.

[Thedrel] Lech Walesa and his aides are facing you again 7 years after martial law and the banning of Solidarity. What do you feel about this reunion?

[Rakowski] I have never had any unfriendly feelings toward Lech Walesa. I have demonstrated that several times. I obviously look critically at him and the others, but I do not feel any hatred. That is a feeling which is foreign to me. Engels said that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. We will therefore see how this new pudding tastes. One thing is certain: I cannot prevent anybody from thinking freely. I am a historian by education and by taste. I regard everything which has happened in Poland with a historian's stoicism and serenity.

[Thedrel] The record of the economic reforms implemented for more than a year now is rather gloomy. They have failed to curb Poland's economic decline. What is your personal view?

[Rakowski] Economic problems are the most important. Democracy can always be arranged. But economic matters are more complicated. The economic situation is obviously not good. But we must ask why. We are prisoners of an enormous debt. There are also the consequences of the policy of restrictions started in the early eighties (by the Western countries after martial law was introduced—LE FIGARO editor's note). We could find many other explanations. The process of modernizing the production apparatus has been too slow because of the inadequacy of financial resources. During the

eighties, we had to repay \$14 billion in interest. If we had been able to inject half of that sum into the Polish economy, the situation would be better.

But there is another very important thing. We are in a transitional period. We are moving from a centralized, directive economy to an economy in which the producers enjoy full autonomy. Thousands of people are going to change their status. Such a change cannot be made without conflicts and without paying a price.

Common Language

[Thedrel] The roundtable between the government and the opposition is a unique experiment in the communist camp. Did you discuss it with Soviet leadership members? Did they encourage you?

[Rakowski] This is in fact a unique experiment which makes my party a vanguard party. We are starting a new phase in socialism's development. During my visit to Moscow at the end of October, Mikhail Gorbachev and I discussed the political situation in Poland and the USSR. And, with regard to this great change which is being made, we have found a common language.

[Thedrel] Some East European countries (Czechoslovakia, and Romania) are very reticent about the reforms advocated by Mr Gorbachev. The latter has just postponed the price reform in the Soviet Union. Does that strike you as worrying?

[Rakowski] Some socialist countries are still lagging behind a little. We are passing through a period in which these countries are trying to express their national identity and are succeeding in formulating their political lines in complete independence.

With regard to the price reform, you know, in our systems, it is rather like a hedgehog—difficult to sleep with. Poland has made more progress in this sphere than the USSR. But we are not capable of avoiding all kinds of conflictual situations, for instance inflation. I imagine that our Soviet friends are carefully following the development of the situation in Poland.

[Thedrel] What is the aim of your visit to Paris? What results do you expect from the contacts which you will have with the French Government?

[Rakowski] I have been invited by the Chamber of Commerce which has just set up a Polish section. I will take the opportunity to put forward the Polish Government's economic policies. I will also have talks with French politicians—Mr Mitterrand, Mr Mauroy, Mr Rocard, Mr Marchais, and some others. And I hope that these meetings will help to revive economic relations between our two countries. The time has come to restore the level of trade which we had in the sixties and

seventies. Judging from the interview which I had in Bonn with Mr Mitterrand, I have the impression that the French side shares my viewpoint.

[Thedrel] After a long period of tension, Franco-Polish relations are being normalized. Moreover, President Mitterrand is due to visit Warsaw on 14 June. What do you now think about this comment made by Gen Jaruzelski in 1983: "Poland will be the Dien Bien Phu of French diplomacy?"

[Rakowski] That commentary was dictated by circumstances. At the time we were isolated and France contributed to that isolation of Poland. That was particularly distressing for us because contacts between our two countries had previously always been very good. But I hope that this Dien Bien Phu now no longer threatens us.

Ciosek Queried on Results of Roundtable Talks *LD1602102689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1810 GMT 15 Feb 89*

[Text] [Rudnik] if I had to sum up my guest's profile in a word, he would most probably be identified today above all with the idea—and the implementation of that idea—of national accord: Stanislaw Ciosek member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee. The professionals, of course, have no illusions because professionals calculate; they refer to things in their political jargon. However, amateurs and perceptive people observing the political reality ask whether the accord, about which we are talking so much today and for which we are doing so much, is [word indistinct] constraint or good will?

[Ciosek] Both. It is worth recalling the party's initiatives, the distant origins (?of the idea): The ninth party congress, above all the Central Committee Plenum decision concerning trade union pluralism in 1980. At that time, the experiment did not succeed; we know how it ended. In General Jaruzelski's first speech after the introduction of martial law, he said that it is not important where somebody came from; the important thing is what he brings with him. We are implementing that today. We are talking to people with different pasts and views and even today hold various views [phrase as heard]. This table is truly pluralist. In a word, 6th plenum of the party Central Committee, the recent 10th one—which was, so to speak, the crowning of our political thought—in a word the idea of joint action was our...that is to say, it was born in the party, going further back yet. After all, the offers of the Polish Communists and the socialist left were for joint action during the war, just after the war. In a word, these are not new things today. This idea of closing the Polish conflict was born very long ago. It is beginning to materialize today. I hope that what I just said a moment ago will not jinx it.

[Rudnik] Why? I think this opinion is correct. So often the roundtable participants go around and around to unravel why they so often keep reminding each other of

the "services" of the past and so seldom turn in the direction which (?is) the only correct one. Since we are talking about energy too, terribly little of it has been seen recently. We are becoming more and more apathetic and we should be becoming more and more energetic; forget about those supposed "services" and blame that existed years ago.

[Ciosek] I think that the answer is a question. Indeed, the time has come to close this and discuss the future as I have mentioned. That is why we also proposed, in the speech by General Kiszczak at the roundtable and earlier—at the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee—the conclusion of a sort of social contract, a social agreement, which would cover all the fundamental aspects of our life. First, there would be whole blocs linked with the democratization of Poland, with the next stage in the development of socialism, with the creation of a new social order, in which we all would have a better life. In a word, we presented a whole series of issues linked with the formation of new Sejm, with a place in that Sejm for the opposition forces; with a second chamber of parliament; with the presidency; with a new election system, a system which [word indistinct] would not be confrontational but at the same time would be democratic, where the electors would have an influence on the election of their deputies, greater influence than they have had up to now.

In a word, this is the package of issues which have to be discussed therefore the so-called first team or table, which is discussing political reforms, should define specific solutions...

[Rudnik, interrupting] I suggest we return to two definitions, so that we do not pass too lightly over them, because I think that the viewers, too, would really like to understand those concepts. The first one is social accord. The second one is non-confrontational elections.

[Ciosek] There can be confrontations in Poland; we are not afraid of those kind of confrontational elections. That does not mean that the (?ruling camp would lose) if we pursue this concept or because this concept has been imposed on us in these debates. The only thing is that we would not solve Poland's fundamental problems. The opposition would be even more oppositional. I do not think the authorities would liquidate those [words indistinct]; these annoyances are among ourselves, after all, and the roundtable facilitates the (?acceptance) of those differences. The second part of the roundtable and the social accord is the economic reform package. After the introduction of martial law, we began the first stage of reform; then there was the second stage of economic reform; now there is the consolidation plan. All this is a great transformation of the Polish economy, a gigantic project, an immense one.

We are making great transformations of the economy. The creators of reform did not even dream of what is happening today. We are very far advanced with this.

We just have to add one very topical issue to the new package of economic issues: Namely, (?it would be) a mechanism for resolving (?social) disputes, pay disputes primarily, so that they would not rock Poland. This would mean that issues concerning pay and remuneration would be resolved by way of amicable negotiation and not by a wave of demands, which we have now and which may even shake the whole process of agreement and the roundtable. For if today everyone starts at this moment to [words indistinct], (?for) we are today in a sort of political preharvest period where winter has ended in fact and where we have started talks but there is as yet no fruit. When we all start to pick the unripened fruit we can do a lot of harm. It is this second package of the social accord, that is these economic reforms and simultaneously all these political forces, making this social agreement, binding themselves to act in favor of limiting these demands.

[Rudnik] I have noticed that both East and West have made fairly favorable observations about what is happening in Poland now. However, the line between favorability and subsequent recognition of this political paradox—that we lack the political culture to create a normal state—is quite thin. What am I talking about? I am saying that every instance of instability tends to alienate our potential partners regarding Poland. On the one hand, we are beginning an action that could be the guarantee that we will become a normal state, approximating normality, perhaps not straight away normal, and on the other hand, successive political agitation. I must admit that you can get lost not only in these analyses and opinions but also in the Polish situation. There are many citizens who are lost. Many among our viewers are people who are simply lost. They do not know, putting it briefly and as the young put it, what is up.

[Ciosek] Yes. The world is indeed waiting and this can clearly be seen. It is waiting and hoping that here in the center of Europe order and peace, after all these difficult years of ours (?will be attained). I think that the financial world is also waiting for a certain political stabilization in the country, which is also very germane. On the other hand, the Polish people are also waiting for an end to these eternal disputes, which we said at the beginning of the debates, so that a better life will begin to emerge in actual life. The price of peace in Poland is getting higher and higher, which is also symptomatic of the times. The fears of people about peace are growing. I think that this roundtable and the debates that we have undertaken respond to social expectations. In any case, the hopes associated with the roundtable and its results are enormous.

Let me stubbornly return to one matter, to this third part of this social contract: (a) reforms, the packet of political reforms; (b) the great packet of economic reforms relating to the possibilities for organizing the satisfaction of demands that will not destabilize Poland; and, finally (c) if we implement these first and second groups, if we in some way specify our standpoint in the group of political reforms—(?around) political and economic reforms of

these social groups—then I think that there will then be a possibility, a possibility will arise for constructive union pluralism, union pluralism that will not destabilize the situation.

We expect that after these few weeks of roundtable deliberations we will be able to present a certain declaration of intent, from all the roundtable participants which would be a sketch of the accord—of the social accord. Then union pluralism and developed, built-up political pluralism, under conditions of accord—I recall the (?decisions) of the 10th party Central Committee plenum—will be specified in the path to implementing the first two parts of this social accord. [as heard] We are treating this as a package, and probably it would be difficult to formulate the question: Why are you afraid of union pluralism? For the reply is among the people. Everyone of us remembers the year 1981, 1980. We must avoid all those paroxysms and convulsions, all those difficulties that brought the country to the edge of the precipice. I think that the roundtable—precisely because those elements will leave the trade unions that turned the trade union into a mainly political creation—and political pluralism in this packet of political reforms, if we create a mechanism to solve pay conflicts which will guarantee for us a relatively conflictless, nonconfrontational solution to these difficult social problems, then it seems to me that then union pluralism will be a natural consequence of all this.

[Rudnik] There is (?the matter) of this accord.

[Ciosek] A plus B, one might say, comes to C.

[Rudnik] In my last program on Friday one young person proposed to me, in place of the roundtable, a takeover of power in the state by a party of desperate 30-year-olds.

[Ciosek] Patience is not great, of course, particularly among young people. We feel this ourselves clearly. I think, too, that our partners in Solidarity feel this. And we must always have this in mind. Though we must resolve the basic problems at the roundtable, because without resolving them it will not be possible to satisfy the aspirations of 30 year-olds. As regards faith and hope, I, too, am not—I cannot give you—a 100 percent guarantee that this social contract will come about, whether it will be made or whether it will later be respected. Also please do not be surprised at the reactions of the party, the party members. I, too, approach this with great care. I have hopes, though if I were to give someone a guarantee—such a guarantee I cannot give, for this is a complicated, very difficult social process and all the participants must want it. Meanwhile, we are observing many disturbing signals: We will be signing a contract for a short period; we will go to the polls only for some specified period; it is not possible; there are signals that can disturb our party. I think that such bases, so as to demand decided guarantees from our partners at the roundtable, and public declarations are many. There is

much unnecessary noise, and such a representation of one's criteria in a way that is fairly, I would say, uncompromising. And often [words indistinct] if only this questioning of the whole achievement of the 40-year period, offending millions of people who contributed in the end to the achievement of 40 years of Polish development. Also questioning everything, yes, discussing things from the beginning—the world is only (?fine) from the date of our entry to the roundtable.

[Rudnik] So, after all, the matter of representatives.. that is, who has the right to speak on behalf of society... [indistinct crosstalk]

[Ciosek] That irritates, it greatly irritates.

[Rudnik] But equally often, it irritates and amuses.

[Ciosek] Yes, that is, I must (?say that I heard this yesterday) we, society [words indistinct] speakers, we moved away from this a long time ago, and we are counting our shares in this whole political game very, kind of, carefully. We are, of course, constantly striving to acquire greater ones—that is the central characteristic of every political party. However, we [words indistinct] precisely this word we, on behalf of the nation, on behalf of society. We must count very precisely the shares we have at our disposal. I once used the expression that, when it is a matter of plaguing, with our various bad character traits, with various bad qualities [word indistinct] it can be badly expressed—then I don't know if we, together with the church, the opposition, the trade unions, the party, whether we have that controlling, over 50 percent batch of shares. I would be very careful there, in employing of the word we on behalf of society, or we the majority, we the public side. This is simply downright immodesty, which, putting it delicately, diverges essentially from political reality and the real pattern of political forces in Poland.

Mr Walesa himself, I remember, in an interview once in one of the peasant papers said: You are 20 percent; we are 20 percent; the rest is in the middle. I do not share this opinion right to the end, but I think that we should follow this trail of Mr Walesa's reasoning, as regards (?these processes, reaching the real ones), and so, I think that it would be good if our friends, our partners stopped patenting this majority.

However, there is such a method in propaganda, the more often you repeat a certain "truth" the more probable it is that people will believe it. This is an old principle, not practised by us and not invented by us but it has transpired in the past that it was sometimes effective. So I think that these are matters on which we very much differ. Someone once said that he is sometimes reminded a little of this, frightening the majority like a battle among gorillas.... Please forgive me for such a, perhaps, unpleasant expression.... Who before battle make such terrible noises; they beat their chests in order

to frighten the opponent. Well, if we treat the matter in such a way, then when we finally arrive, it would not surprise me if this becomes part of the game.

As for society, we must have a realistic assessment of our capabilities, of our strengths. If we believe that we will come to that agreement with the opposition—which some call an agreement of the elite and forget that there are people in Poland, working people, with their own troubles and problems—then we will not settle it after all [words indistinct] right at the roundtable. No miracle will happen at once. If we forget that there are young people who feel, well, a certain...not even dissatisfaction, but simply make gestures of desperation...[Ciosek changes thought] Look at how many have left Poland. They are waiting for some reasonably speedy and decisive solutions on our part. If we forget about all these problems and are directed exclusively by our own political interests, of our own elites—I am saying this to our partners—then we will be very sadly mistaken. In recommending trade union pluralism I did not give a guarantee to the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee. I said clearly that I myself am full of fear and indecision, but I recommend it because I think that there is no other road to agreement today. We must...we must not kill the goodwill (?then). We must do everything so that that goodwill is [word indistinct] articulate. The different extreme reflex actions, the attempts at destabilization and disruption are dangerous and threatening. [Word indistinct] I am, however, hoping for the best, all in all. I said that I do not want to cultivate cheap optimism, but maybe I will say in jest that listening to some of our colleagues from our partners' side, (?very often they say they are) the social side and I say we are the asocial side, in that case. The divisions are often funny, I must say.

Joking aside, when I see...when views are being presented, our partners go to the length of raising their little plaques, their identification marks, so that their views will not by chance be mistaken for ours. Well, that is an optimistic sign because if people cannot be differentiated by their views, then this is a good thing. I think that we have this [word indistinct].

[Rudnik] (?In) our history, in the history of our party as well, (?there were) many such political undertakings and ideas which ended in failure and were left orphans. If the roundtable is a failure, will you take it as a personal defeat?

[Ciosek] Of course. That is natural. I think I will not be the only one; everybody who sat around that table would take it like that, including people who were not at that table. I think that today the table belongs to all of us. It would not be a personal defeat. It would be a defeat for Poland, in my belief. (?It would be the defeat) of that new political thinking, the new political culture which is being born, which people expect of us and the world expects of us. (?Those) are great words, but not too great at all for the dimensions of the issue.

Walesa Holds Roundtable News Conference
LD1602205789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Report on news conference given by Lech Walesa in Gdansk 16 February by unidentified reporter—with portions recorded]

[Text] At Lech Walesa's news conference today many questions by home and foreign journalists concerned the course of deliberations at the roundtable. Asked what he was concerned about in these deliberations Lech Walesa stated:

[Begin Walesa recording] I must say [words indistinct] that I am pleased because one cannot expect that one should be pleased with everything or not pleased with everything. It is true that I have put in a lot of work personally, as well as some other people, to achieve the chance to reach an accord in Poland. I did everything possible and obstacles were created everywhere. However, an attempt for Poles to talk to one another has been made possible and they are looking for possibilities. What will come of it, I am not at all sure. But various people should feel a little grateful if only for this fact. And further, I can say that I think that, since we have already sat down at the roundtable, we, our side and the other side, shall produce arguments and at the same time we shall test possibilities which exist in this country concerning various subjects.

I hope that all this will, after all, serve the country and that there will be enough goodwill—we shall certainly have enough goodwill and also the others—to resolve these problems, after all, today in an acceptable manner for all parties, for the good of the country. I really do believe in this. [end recording]

Subsequent journalists' asked Lech Walesa about his attitude toward free elections to the Sejm.

[Begin Walesa recording] Ladies and gentlemen. It is nice. I, too, am in favor of completely free and democratic elections, but let us look at this a little differently: I am from a trade union which is not to get involved in political affairs. In this case I have no right to interfere precisely in the elections, as it is a political matter after all. This is the first thing. Second, when I see that—and again I have reasons and proof of this—in only 13 voivodships can I take on the responsibility of putting forward even the 40 percent [not further specified]. In the remaining voivodships we are not able to select people because we (?did not have the time) to prepare them as far as cadres, programs, etc are concerned. But one must, in addition, take into consideration the external geopolitical situation and the internal situation, the fact that if many people declare to what they belonged and still belong they will be dropped, and that we may put forward excellent, good people, every second person may even be a priest, but no one will have any idea about governing. Only then chaos will start.

Do we want to do this properly and wisely or do we want chaos? We must say that we are not capable of managing the country better given in the circumstances we are in. Thus far, we have only boycotted—and rightly so. I myself have boycotted almost all elections in my life and I had justified reasons to do this because there was no freedom, no democracy, and because things were going badly. However, today I must say with full responsibility that for the first time in my life I will not have arguments to boycott elections, because either the authorities have set us up beautifully or they are really moving toward far-reaching democracy.

The authorities have said politely: Before the elections there will be the pluralism about which you and you, ladies and gentlemen, are concerned. You can put forward as many people as you want, you can even put forward ministers. Now they have already proposed ministers and deputy premiers. Please help yourself. You have our invitation. [words indistinct] We had a laugh because we were not prepared for that. And in connection with the fact that there are possibilities, boycott makes no sense. I am sorry to say this. For the first time I have no arguments to justify boycotting, but at the same time I cannot (?reach for) full, complete democracy, because again I am not ready for it. And Polish society is not ready for it. [end recording]

Much time during the news conference was devoted to the strike situation in Poland. Lech Walesa said among other things:

[Begin Walesa recording] I repeated everywhere we found ourselves recently that every Pole has justified reasons to strike. However, we must channel [skanalizowac] all this. We must do all this organizationally. If we all go on strike in this country we shall never in our lives resolve our own problems. For this reason I request that we should put it in order: The organizations or organizations of various types and organizations should solve problems, those small problems concerning themselves. Then the greater problems they should try to solve at various other levels.

For this reason, Solidarity, and I on its behalf, came out in favor of suspending strikes at the moment—first, to give the roundtable a chance. And second, to put all this in order so that we shall look like an organization which solves problems, not like one which tries to be too clever or too pushy in its demands. That path, I repeat, leads nowhere. [end recording]

Roundtable Team Meets on Pluralism Issue

Communique Released

LD1702000189 Warsaw PAP in English
2221 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The roundtable's team for pluralism adopted the following communique at its meeting here today:

In order to ensure trade union pluralism on conditions of the national agreement defined by the roundtable participants, to support the planned political and economic reforms in the drive for the elimination of social tensions in enterprises, the team for union pluralism has found it necessary to:

1. Amend the law on trade unions in its passages which concern:

A) The procedure of trade unions creation that would permit the registration, by means of a single legal act, of a nationwide union representing the employees of enterprises of various branches,

B) Allow the trade unions to freely form their organizational structures,

C) Define the matters concerning the collective interests of the employees, where joint representation of various trade unions before managers will be required.

The sides decided to appoint a working team for drafting an amended law on trade unions in this respect.

2. Following a comprehensive exchange of views and considering the stance of the subteam for agriculture, members of the team for trade unions pluralism agreed that a separate law on farmers' trade unions should be a basis for the creation and registration of their unions to enable the registration and operation of farmers' trade unions as the interested persons want it. The subteam appointed a working group to draft a law on farmers' trade unions.

3. It was found necessary to discuss at the team's next meeting a broader updating of the law on trade unions in its passages dealing with the right to form trade unions and with the regulations on collective disputes, including the right to strike.

The results of the group's work will be presented at the next meeting of the team for union pluralism on February 24.

Government Official Comments

LD1702000789 Warsaw PAP in English
2309 GMT 16 Feb 89

[By Stanilaw Filipczak and Jaroslaw Szychliński]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—Speaking today about the debates of the team for trade union pluralism, Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski said that it had dealt with organizational issues of individual farmers, legalization of Solidarity and the activities of trade unions in work establishments. Against this background stressed was the importance of democratic environment which would include following elements:

—A new Sejm (Poland's parliament) comprising opposition

- New electoral law, as a precondition for electing a new Sejm
- A law on associations
- Pluralism of trade unions including farmers' unions and amended law on their activities.

The defining by Solidarity whether it aims at "re-legalization" or "legalization" was of vital importance for the work of the team. It said its aim was "legalization"—hence the proposal to adopt a new law on trade unions and not the annulment of the decrees banning its "re-legalization".

Asked what sort of self-curbs the government side expected from the trade unions as regards the right to strike, Minister Kwasniewski said that this was still a problem under consideration. What matters here is the consciousness of trade unionists. "We do not want", Kwasniewski went on to say, "to make legal curbs. We expect that the participants in the roundtable will spell out their stance towards recent strikes. We hold the view that they undermine the credibility of our table for it is difficult to speak how to avoid social tensions in the future if it is impossible to eliminate them at the present moment.

OPZZ Spokesman Views Communique

LD1702001289 Warsaw PAP in English
2325 GMT 16 Feb 89

[By Jerzy Redlich, Elzbieta Zakrzewska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—The OPZZ makes no objections about the legalisation of Solidarity by a single legal act, the OPZZ Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny said when commenting on today's conference of the team for trade union pluralism.

Ciemny told the conference that all the sides had received to their accepting knowledge the stance on the creation and registration of private farmers' trade union, which needs a separate legal act.

An OPZZ initiative concerning the mixed union representations in enterprises was not supported by Solidarity representatives, Ciemny said. Solidarity agrees only to setting up ad hoc representations to deal with individual problems of the workers in enterprises. But Solidarity is strongly against mixed representations on the inter-factory level, while the OPZZ argues that such a representation is necessary, especially when consulting legal acts regulating the lively affairs of working people.

Ciemny represents the opinion that the OPZZ-affiliated unions were unjustly blamed at the team's meeting for inciting strikes. He said that strikes are sparked by Poland's socio-economic situation and added that such allegations should be avoided in future.

The OPZZ rejects Solidarity allegation that the OPZZ-aligned unions appropriated the property of the former Solidarity union. We are ready to produce a complete list of financial sources of which not a single zloty has been spent by the OPZZ which did not take over any fixed assets.

Asked about the time of amending the 1982 trade union law so as to make, among other things, the legalization of Solidarity possible, Ciemny answered that the working group appointed today is to draft the amendments by the next meeting of the team scheduled for February 24. The adoption of the amendments to the union law would be one of the concrete effects of the roundtable, Ciemny stressed.

Solidarity Spokesman Remarks

LD1702000289 Warsaw PAP in English
2305 GMT 16 Feb 89

[By Jan Rozdzynski and Janusz Zaleski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—"This is precisely what we wanted," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the Solidarity and representatives of the independent circles at the roundtable told a press conference here today as he commented on the communique adopted by the team for trade union pluralism.

As the most difficult thing in Thursday's debate Onyszkiewicz regards the reaching of consensus over the unions' freedom to develop their organisational structures.

Asked by PAP to describe the OPZZ stance in the negotiations Onyszkiewicz called it constructive and kept in line with previous OPZZ declarations on respecting the ILO conventions.

Co-chairman of the team Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed that agreeing of the communique was not easy but all the sides immediately proceeded to business-like debate. He also said there were true, not fictitious three sides: government, OPZZ, and Solidarity. So far however, there are no reasons to speak of any breakthrough. The roundtable will sum up the results of the meetings on their last day.

What concessions has the Solidarity made to the government. "I think, that the authorities will produce the bill at a meeting of the team for political reforms. Speculation is possible that they want our acceptance of the Sejm elections formula.

Questions were also answered by representatives of youth organisations and milieux close to Solidarity who are taking part in the conference of the subteam for youth. Co-chairman of this subteam Andrzej Celinski

told the journalists that the affairs of the younger generation of Poles are not separate from the problems of the whole nation. We want our questions to elicit the reply of persons empowered to take decisions, he said.

Roundtable Team for Farming Meets, Holds Debate

Mlynarczyk Reviews Session

LD1602114189 Warsaw PAP in English
2252 GMT 15 Feb 89

[By Janusz Dworecki, Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—One of the key topics raised during today's debate of the roundtable subteam for farming was the question of subjecting both farming production and consumption to market mechanisms. Under Secretary of State at the Farming Ministry Wieslaw Mlynarczyk told a news conference here today.

This topic was welcomed with interest, he added. And it was preceded by concretization of conditions safeguarding the socio-political sphere of the functioning of this market. What matters here is first of all the issue of trade union pluralism. In this regard we adopted a joint stand which says that we come out for creating organizational and legal conditions for the formation of various trade unions in the countryside. This stand will be conveyed to the socio-political team, Mlynarczyk said.

Replying to a question about the proposed mechanisms controlling the movement of prices Mlynarczyk said that the participants discussed the issue of introducing minimum purchase prices for farming products with correlated, maximum prices being fixed for farming production means.

To introduce market mechanisms in farming would require a general revaluation of the price system, said Mlynarczyk in reply to a question posed by PAP. The current purchase prices are much more closer to market prices than retail prices are. Such a situation would require diversified, high price rises which for instance in the case of meat and meat products would even be as high as 170 per cent.

Generally, the atmosphere of our talks was characterized by uniform understanding of the most vital interests of the development of farming and the countryside, said Mlynarczyk.

Team Members View Talks

LD1602103989 Warsaw PAP in English
2047 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—"The joint stand adopted today by the subteam for farming and concerning formation of farmers' trade unions, including farmers' Solidarity, clearly implies necessary changes in the law on trade

unions," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the spokesman for Solidarity and representatives of independent milieus told a news conference here today.

Asked by PAP about the size of support expected by the future farmers' Solidarity union on the part of farmers Jozef Slisz said that from 60 to 70 percent of that milieu might become the union's members. Peasants should decide for themselves which union they will belong to—be it farmers' Solidarity, other trade unions or, for instance, farmers' circles, he added.

Co-chairman of the subteam for farming Andrzej Stelmachowski pointed out that talks within this forum were more concrete as compared with other teams. The government's proposals are—as he put it—correct in terms of direction, but there must be some guarantees in the sphere of, for instance, territorial self-government, departure from monopolization of the rural economy, changes in the credit system, and so forth. Farming, effects of farmers' work, should be subject to the laws of the market. But the point is that this process should not take place at the cost of both consumers and farmers.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka from Lech Walesa's press office presented the stand on the housing policy voiced by the respective subteam. The starting point to overcome the crisis in this field should be the state publicly admitting its failure, he said. He characterized proposals presented during the subteam's talks by Aleksander Paszynski. They are confined to an absolute change in the system of investment, construction, renting and trade as far as apartments are concerned, and they provide for creation of institutions which would control, under social supervision, the future "building pluralism." Nowina-Konopka also pointed to the convergence of views between Solidarity and OPZZ on numerous issues connected with housing.

UPP Envoys on 'Farming' Talks

LD1602112589 Warsaw PAP in English
2305 GMT 15 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—"On each side of the roundtable subteam for farming sit farmers who perfectly understand each other and who carry on a concrete discussion supported by argumentation," Stanislaw Sliwinski, Presidium member of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party [UPP] who co-chaired today's debate told newsmen here.

Sliwinski told newsmen that the debaters adopted a joint declaration which determined the farming subteam's stand on trade union pluralism. It reflects a common opinion about necessary creation in the countryside of various trade union organizations, including Solidarity ones, which would serve the interest of farming and the countryside.

The meeting also agreed upon a segmentary agreement on subjecting the food economy to market mechanisms. This was, Sliwinski stressed, the key topic of today's debate, with concordant opinions being voiced about the necessity to introduce a market-oriented system in the food sector. What remains an open question, though, are methods and timing of realization.

Presenting the UPP stand on the issue, the party's roundtable spokesman Janusz Tarniewski pointed out that "if we fail to introduce market mechanisms with regard to food products, meat in particular, there will be less food in general in view of the disquietingly dropping profitability of food production."

Sliwinski expressed the hope that during the next two meetings of the subteam, its members will work out and agree upon directive solutions to problems connected with farming.

Rakowski Holds News Conference on Paris Talks
LD1702102889 Warsaw PAP in English
1717 GMT 16 Feb 89

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Feb 16—On the third and last day of his working visit to France Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski gave a press conference at the Polish Embassy here today.

Rakowski began with a statement concerning his Paris visit and Polish-French relations in which he said in part:

While at the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry yesterday, I said that I spoke about Polish-French relations with a feeling of bitterness, for I was not satisfied with them. Today, after talks with President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, I can say that I can regard the phrase of mine, used in the statement I referred to and which I wrote in Warsaw, as one belonging to the past.

In view of talks which I held here in Paris I think that Polish-French relations are entering a new, very promising phase which not only announces a return to the 1970s when those relations were most animated. Considering transformations now taking place in Eastern and Western Europe alike, I think that these relations have been declared by President Mitterrand. I want to say that I attached a particular significance to talks with the head of the French State—and I am not disappointed.

I welcomed President Mitterrand's statements concerning the will to improve relations with Poland as a significant fact. I regard the president of France as an extremely interesting interlocutor and a big-class politician.

I am leaving France with a conviction that the coming months will see a considerable and tangible enlivening in our relations. There is no doubt whatsoever that this will be served by President Mitterrand's visit to Poland in June this year.

Next, the prime minister answered questions by French journalists and foreign correspondents accredited in Paris. The first of them concerned Rakowski's planned actions so as to halt the wave of strikes in Poland.

I have not a ready answer to that question, Rakowski said. I am pondering what are the causes of these strikes and what one should do to reduce their scope. Strikes in our system have become something normal and one ought to get used to this. I would question the term "wave of strikes." This morning, I received a message from Warsaw which said about 19 strike situations or strikes while there are 6,500 enterprises in Poland. This does not mean that I ignore those strikes.

I would like to say that, not ignoring those strikes, the government replaced shaky nerves with ones of steel and will observe those strikes with calm. I know that one must pay a price in order to fully pull out of the economic policy that was being carried out for 40 years. There is no other solution.

Another question, asked by a Radio France Internationale newsmen, concerned optimism voiced by the prime minister over the further development of Polish-French relations.

My optimism is based on the course of talks I held with French politicians, Rakowski said. I heard numerous statements that not only made me feel optimistic but also persuaded me to make a self-correction of the view of the Polish-French relations I had while leaving Warsaw.

I believe that the radio station you represent will present my statement in the way I put it. Everyday I receive a bulletin that contains your articles. If it was not for my post as the head of the Polish government, I would frequently reach for my pen to write polemics against the articles, and mainly against malice they contain.

One of the newsmen asked whether the French side made its financial assistance to Poland conditional on democratization of life in Poland. The prime minister said in reply that he had heard no such postulate and added that he would have thought it a rather strange postulate had anybody come out with one.

Replying to a question concerning censorship in Poland Rakowski said he did not regard censorship a major problem at present. A time will come when it will also disappear. In what is being written in Poland today I perceive no detrimental effects caused by censorship, he

added. And as for publications in the so-called alternative circulation, I am convinced that many of them will become normal publications in the near future, Rakowski said.

Another question concerned the historic process of reconciliation between France and West Germany.

I think that journalists present in this room know that less than a month ago I paid a visit to Bonn, the prime minister replied. While there, I also met with President Mitterrand. But I was obviously interested above all in relations between Poland and the Federal Republic.

I want to say, continued the premier, that my talks, especially those with chancellor Kohl, focused on the question of making a breakthrough in relations between Poland and the FRG. The chancellor recalled that his predecessor, Konrad Adenauer, thought that the Germans had the duty to make breakthroughs in relations with three nations, three states: Israel, France and Poland. As far as the first two states and nations are concerned, reconciliation is already a fact. Poland remains.

What can one say about French-West German relations from the viewpoint of a Pole, continued the premier and had this reply: I think this is an event of a historic significance and a natural one, too, resulting from processes under way in Europe. I want to say that rapprochement between France and the FRG and the way of its realization is not a matter for concern to us. Europe is now in the stage of bidding farewell to many prejudices, many myths which were building up over years. Provided one treats seriously the concept of a common European home put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev—and I do—then one must view the phenomenon of French-West German rapprochement as beneficial for the construction of such a home. I want to add that both on the trip to Bonn and to Paris my luggage contained no lament over relations between the Bonn government and the Paris government being very good. [transmission interrupted, PAP part 4 not received]

French journalists were also interested in the role and rank of the PUWP in Polish political life.

Every political party, Rakowski said, strives to become a force which steers the development of the country. The ambition to play the leading role are not contradictory to pluralism. It just forces a party to fight with determination and persistence for its prominent position—and this is my vision of the nearest future. To be more exact—this is the Polish reality of today. I suppose that shortly will be founded various political associations. Most of them will be right-wing. I do not intend by this to offend any founder of such organizations. I am just still able to assess them.

Consequently, Rakowski continued, the party I represent will have to fight for its rank using political means. This, precisely, is the essence of changes which are underway in Poland. I said once that the party gives up the monopoly of power. This is just it. Our allies from the UPP and the DP (United Peasants' Party and Democratic Party—ed) are no more our satellites. They have become partners.

Radio France International asked about the possible removal of the constitutional provision granting the party the leading role, while changing the constitution.

It is hard to say what will change, the premier said, but just pay attention to the fact that Poland, just as the whole Socialist community in Eastern and central Europe, entered a period of very profound transformations.

I welcome with great satisfaction these profound changes, Rakowski added, because, for instance my party must meet many challenges. It can not be a party which thinks in terms of bureaucracy or a party which holds dear the administrative measures. This is also a great challenge. Well, I can repeat here what I said at the 10th PUWP CC Plenum that no history book says that my party must win. Its victory will depend only on its condition.

The last question concerned Polish indebtedness and France's approach to this issue.

During my talks, Rakowski answered, I was speaking about issues related to the Paris Club. Despite many efforts, we have not been able until now to reach an agreement with the Paris Club, which would allow us to distribute the servicing of our indebtedness in a way which would let us rest for a couple of years. Our envoys have held many talks in capitals of states-members to the Paris Club. For instance, in Bonn we hear "of course, with pleasure, but we are not alone." We hear the same in Paris and Rome. This changes in a sort of Cracovienne dance, in which everybody dances around, and we would rather dance Polonaise, when the partners move forward, and at a swift pace.

I wanted also to receive an assertion, added the premier, that my French partners would also choose Polonaise and not Cracovienne. One of the reasons is the fact that Polonaise was more popular than Cracovienne during Napoleon's Polish stay. My French partners assured me that they will deal with the issue which is the most bothering one for us in the Paris Club, and I was also assured that they look favourably at our proposals. Also for this reason, I assess my stay here as an event profitable for us. I would like to add that during our recent talks with Western politicians about our indebtedness and about the Paris Club we have heard that the progress in this area is a political issue, that the financiers have much to say on this issue, but politicians no less. I leave Paris with this conviction.

In the afternoon, Premier Rakowski held an hour and 1/2-long talk at the Polish Embassy here with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a former president of the Republic and the present chairman of the Union for French Democracy and the chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee in the National Assembly.

The conversation, held in a friendly, open, and cordial atmosphere, focused on the possibilities and significance of pan-European cooperation and the place and role of Poland in this cooperation. The two also talked about the significance of the Soviet perestroika for the whole of Europe. It was arranged that d'Estaing's visit to Poland would take place still this year.

In his statement for the press, Giscard d'Estaing said that in his opinion Polish debt problems should be examined and Poland should be given assistance. He presumed that his visit to Poland would concern that matter.

Present at the meeting was Deputy Ryszard Wojna, vice-chairman of the Sejm [Parliament] Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Deputy Wojna also held a talk with the chairman of the Polish-French friendship group in the French senate and a former minister of foreign affairs, Maurice Schuman. The sides arranged that a joint Polish-French forum co-chaired by the two interlocutors will be held in Warsaw from June 30 till July 2. On July 3 Schuman is to deliver a lecture in the Polish Parliament on the 200th anniversary of the great French revolution.

Early this evening, Premier Rakowski boarded a plane from Paris to Warsaw.

Journalists Association Protests Restrictions
*LD1602225789 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Polish Journalists Association Main Board has announced its stand in connection with restrictions to the access to information. It reads, among other things:

On behalf of all journalists, we protest restrictions to the access of information, which has been occurring recently. Journalists have a duty to genuinely report events to society. They can do this only when they have direct access to facts. We protest journalists being barred from significant events, and attempts to limit the transmission of information.

Colonel Queried on Armed Forces Reorganization
*AU1602170189 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 3*

[Interview with Colonel Wacław Roztock, deputy chief of the cadre department of the PPR Ministry of National Defense, by Major Zdzisław Lasota: "Changes in the Polish Armed Forces: The Personnel Problem"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Lasota] I suggest that we begin our conversation by referring to the interview that Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of

National Defense, gave to the press. In it he spoke about changes in the Polish Armed Forces and about a numerical reduction in the professional cadre. One of the things he said during it was: "At the same time, we will ensure that appropriate use is made of personnel from reorganized or disbanded units. We will transfer them to where we feel there is lack of personnel. Others will be retrained to perform other functions. Some of those who go into well-deserved retirement or, in view of the state of their health, leave on appropriate pensions will not have successors. In other words, the highest goal will be that of skillfully balancing what is good for service with the individual lot of every professional soldier."

Could you please tell our readers rather more about the scale of this and tell us how your institution intends to accomplish this great and unusual task?

[Roztock] The changes that have been announced undoubtedly represent a military, political, organizational, and economic success. At the same time, they involve many tasks and undertaking pertaining to personnel that extend well beyond the scope of our routine activity. They have also aroused a certain amount of concern among many circles of professional soldiers, especially in cases in which it has to be expected that units will be disbanded, reduced, or merged.

"Yours to Command" is one of the professional soldier's, especially officer's, mottos. It means being ready to go where one is required. One of our personnel policy principles is that service interests should be skillfully squared with the personal interests of the soldier. We will undoubtedly encounter conflicts of opinion in direct talks and with respect to personal proposals. How an apartment has been furnished, the job one's wife has, a certain type of school that the children like going to form a very important set of conditions that have a bearing on the decision of transferring to another garrison. These factors are taken into consideration. However, there will also be situations in which there will not be any professional soldier serving at a particular garrison, because the unit has been disbanded. In cases of this kind, transfers are inevitable. Solutions of this kind will also have to be considered in cases in which people have grown accustomed to a given place and will make moves toward being released from the military. There will be a feeling of regret on both sides.

Seeing things in general terms, we have an opportunity to make efficient use of all the personnel from reorganized or disbanded units. However, this is a purely statistical calculation. The face-to-face talks that we will conduct with every person who is affected will produce a real, but undoubtedly very complicated picture. We have to carry out the defense minister's supreme order in this respect, that is, ensure that appropriate use is made of personnel from the units that are affected by the restructuring process.

Reductions in the Armed Forces cannot be deemed synonymous with routine discharges from the professional military. The institution of structural changes in our Armed Forces is a process that will last several years. This period of time provides us with an opportunity to carry out a planned, gradual transfer of personnel to new posts and to positions vacated by persons who become reservists.

In this great personnel operation, the planned direction of service movements will be somewhat disrupted. Many immediate, unforeseen transfers dictated by organizational changes and available positions will have to be made. However, this will be a temporary situation. This is because the objective is to improve the allocation of personnel, give preferential treatment to those who are the best, and create conditions for fostering ambitious attitudes and high professional aspirations.

[Lasota] I noticed that material on changes in the military has not used the term reduction, instead there is talk of changes, transformations that will mean that, as the minister of National Defense said in the interview, "the Armed Forces will be numerically smaller, but characterized by high standards of quality." I think that the nature of the changes will determine the way in which professional personnel are released from service. Who will decide on this and how?

[Roztock] The planned organizational changes in the military will not bring about a reduction in the number of professional soldiers. That is why the minister of National Defense consciously and consistently did not use the word "reduction," and the personnel action that is being taken should not even give rise to associations of this kind.

What would happen if there were to be a reduction?

The partial reduction in the Armed Forces that occurred during the years 1955-57 serves as an example. There were three separate reductions that resulted in many thousands of officers being discharged from the Armed Forces. The process essentially took place over the course of 1 year. So, there was a clear concentration of discharges.

The current plan of action is entirely different. Offers of further service will be made to all professional troops in units affected by the reorganization—the offers will be made by superiors and cadre organ officers. In many cases, this will involve the need for transfers to other garrisons. In the majority of cases, active efforts will be made to persuade the men in question to accept transfers in light of concrete service needs.

A new plan for personnel needs will be produced in the wake of the reorganization activity schedule. There is already an extensive range of offers. These will be compared with the wishes of the persons affected and

then implemented. It is not hard to imagine how much work this involves on the part of cadre organs—the circulation of information, frequent talks, efforts to determine people's futures.

Only once efforts to provide a given soldier with a new post fail, and he does not accept any of the proposals that are made, will we talk about a possible discharge. However, a lot of time will elapse between discussing the possibility and an actual discharge (it might even take 2-3 years), except, of course, in cases in which someone applies for a discharge. All charges which will occur will be purely for natural reasons and will occur on a pragmatic basis.

Toward the end of January some papers carried brief reports on the subject of changes in the Armed Forces that greatly simplified the issue of personnel use and talked about a reduction in the size of the professional cadre, which might have misled readers into thinking that there would be mass discharges. However, this will not be the case.

[Lasota] What are the main professional groups that will be affected by the changes? Will they only affect personnel about to retire? If the changes will also affect younger personnel, will the Armed Forces at least have enough apartments to ensure that accommodation is available at new places of service?

[Roztock] The restructuring process covers many, different military units. Thus, it will affect professional personnel in all branches of the Armed Forces and all military specialist fields. It will affect both older and younger personnel. The process will occur as follows: older personnel, who meet the requirements for a discharge in view of their age, will be gradually released from service over the next few years, and no new persons will be appointed to their posts. It will often be the case that a military unit will be disbanded or transferred, and some of the personnel will remain in service for a time, performing various tasks assigned them.

Many professional soldiers who think that they will have to be transferred to a new post have written and said that they would request a discharge. It will be difficult to deny requests of this kind, in view of the soldiers' personal and family interests. These requests would really be prompted by the situation that has arisen, but, at the same time, soldiers would make decisions of this kind of their own free will. Should any of them change their minds, we would be prepared to make a proposal of further service to every one of them.

The majority of personnel who will lose their current posts will be transferred to new posts in accordance with their skills and qualifications. The transfers will be to

places all over the country, to wherever there are appropriate posts. Some of the personnel will have to be retrained and equipped with new specialist skills that will ensure their further development, which will please both sides.

Although the entire process of organizational change will last several years, the personnel transfers during the period will involve excessively high numbers, and that is our biggest problem. It is not so much a personnel as a housing problem. A significant number of the personnel will have to be housed in dormitories at first. The construction of housing at many garrisons where this will pose the greatest problem will be stepped up. Many professionals agree to be temporarily separated from their families. Their readiness to comply with wishes and their understanding of service needs deserve to be stressed.

[Lasota] In his interview, the minister spoke about the disbanding of two mechanized units with a reduced personnel complement and of several other units over the last couple of years. As a result of these actions, the size of the Armed Forces has been reduced by about 15,000 men. I mention this to stress that cadre department people already have a certain amount of experience that they will no doubt utilize in the current situation. Is it possible for everyone to receive an offer of a new occupation that is in keeping with their training and aspirations?

[Roztockki] What we have been talking about so far is based on experience stemming from the disbanding of the two units that the defense minister spoke about in his interview. The personnel undertakings connected with this have essentially been accomplished. We already have a full idea of how many professional soldiers have opted for transfers, how many want discharges, and how many are waiting for the implementation of the solutions that have been agreed with them. Many are not sure about what solution they ultimately want, and we also accept this. We realize how complicated this is—the question of responsibility for one's own future and that of one's family. The individual talks that were held with everyone provide a certain far-reaching cadre review.

It came as quite a surprise to us—it ran counter to expectations—that quite a large number of soldiers requested discharges. Some of them are people who identified themselves with service in a very formal way. This shows that skills and qualifications acquired in the Armed Forces can be readily applied in the civilian labor market. They include many warrant and non-commissioned officers. The relatively attractive wages being paid in many civilian occupations act as a certain enticement.

[Lasota] It has been known for quite some time that our military training system is too dispersed and very expensive. This is probably what lies behind the announcement that certain military academies and officers' colleges will be merged. However, when it comes to actually

implementing this, it will surely turn out, and this is understandable, that some teaching staff will not be too keen to move. What will happen then?

[Roztockki] Officers' colleges are mainly situated in large towns that have a lot to offer. Teaching staff are more established and settled in these places than members of the so-called combat service. To be rather more frank about this, merging certain schools is a very praiseworthy move, but it is probably the toughest nut that we will have to crack in our personnel work. We already know today that some teaching staff will not leave to follow their school, and it is going to take us some time to train new people who will have the required qualifications. Who knows; but it might be necessary to order certain specialists to move. This might be necessary for a transitional period of, for example, 2 years—with the right to retain an apartment at one's current garrison. We are supported in this belief by the knowledge that the cadre has a high feeling of responsibility and a broad view of the military's interests.

[Lasota] If our Armed Forces are being reorganized, this will undoubtedly impact on recruitment to military academies...

[Roztockki] The projected staffing advantages that the changes are to bring will result in a reduction in the demand for graduates of officers' and warrant officers' schools. This will not change much about recruitment to professional military schools, but will have a marked effect on entrance examinations in that entrance requirements will be made stricter, because fewer first-year places will be available. Warrant officer schools have been very popular with young people for a number of years, and the entrance examinations for these schools will also become much more competitive.

In addition, it will be possible to increase selection of cadet officers during their studies. As a result of this, we can fully expect the entry of better trained cadet officers and warrant officers into the Armed Forces.

[Lasota] A number of people will also leave central military institutions. Not all of them will be able to transfer to civilian work... It might even prove to be impossible for some of them...

[Roztockki] The minister of National Defense announced publicly that we will eliminate, reduce, or merge certain central institutions. Purely from the cadre viewpoint, this will be the least complicated measure. The personnel at these institutions is older by virtue of the very nature of the posts. Every year, many of them become reservists or retire. They will not be replaced with anyone from outside. There will only be more internal transfers. As the reorganization of central institutions will take several years, this kind of course of action will make it possible to fully accomplish plans in this area.

[Lasota] This organizational and structural reorganization also seems like a good opportunity for the departure from service for those who found themselves in the Armed Forces by chance and consider a readiness to follow service requirements to be a burden and not a feature of military service, a burden that they cannot come to terms with.

[Roztock] In every community, in every occupational group there are people who work worse and obtain lower results. The positive selection and assessment of personnel, promoting those who are best is a binding rule in our cadre activity and is based on the principle of openness. People whose performance is mediocre and who display a low level of commitment are clearly informed about the reservations that this prompts. Following every personnel review, conversations are held on this subject between superiors and their subordinates. Following such talks, those who are more ambitious eliminate the shortcomings that have been pointed out to them and a year later they are even found among the ranks of those whose performance is outstanding.

Those who are less ambitious fall behind, approach their duties in a formal manner, complain about the burdens of service and, in extreme cases, apply for a discharge. In the current situation they will find they can leave the Armed Forces more easily. Current experience, based on what has happened in the case of those units that have already been disbanded, indicates that such people request discharges on their own initiative. They are, after all, aware of their low standing, and reorganization

provides them with an opportunity for a kind of "honorable" discharge. There are not that many cases of this kind, but this nevertheless impacts positively on the ultimate quality of the professional cadre.

[Lasota] As a result of reorganization, there will be institutions, tactical and other units in which savings will be made on wages. Will it be possible to use some of this money to pay more to those who "do" several jobs?

[Roztock] Restructuring will lead to lower staffing in some command organs and military units. However, this will not affect wages. Wage levels are determined differently, by comparison with other sectors of the socialized economy, with due attention being accorded the special conditions attached to service, such as undefined working hours and constant availability.

However, there are plans to introduce quite a flexible wage system for civilian employees. Just as in the case of the state as a whole, the system is geared toward economic employment. The limit on funds for employees' wages will be based on the nature of tasks, and the structure of employment and the labor market in a given area. When staffing is inefficient, wages will be lower. If a unit commander assigns the same tasks to a smaller number of people, this will make it possible to raise wages. Everything will depend on efficient labor organization and management.

This leads to many improvements—this is already apparent—in many areas that have a direct impact on the efficient use of personnel.

[Lasota] Thank you.

Andrei Receives Chinese Deputy Trade Minister
AU1602195189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1907 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/02/1989—On Thursday, February 16, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, received Li Lanqing, first deputy minister of economic relations and foreign trade of the People's Republic of China, who is paying a visit to Romania at head of a delegation.

During the interview, they examined the current stage of the economic links between the two countries, as well as possibilities of further developing them, of expanding cooperation in areas of mutual interest, of amplifying and diversifying mutual commodity exchanges, in the spirit of the decisions reached during the Romanian-Chinese summit meetings and talks.

The same time, a protocol on commodity exchanges and payments in 1989 was signed in Bucharest between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Initiatives To Develop Balkan Cooperation Aired
AU1702133289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1239 GMT 17 Feb 89

["Romanian Initiatives To Develop Collaboration Among Balkan Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1989—One of the fundamental coordinates of Romania's foreign policy asks for the development of bi- and multilateral collaboration with all the Balkan countries and for conditions to be created in order to find the ways and means to expand the cooperation and collaboration in the region in domains of mutual interest. Romania has worked consistently for the full normalization and powerful development of its relations and collaboration with all the other Balkan countries in the political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural and other areas of activity, for strengthening friendship and collaboration with them, in the international arena included. The decisive role for the amplification of Romania's relations with the other states in the Balkans has been played by President Nicolae Ceausescu's approximately 90 interviews with heads of state or government of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, by the accords and understandings agreed upon on those occasions, which have opened new prospects to bilateral collaboration. As concrete examples of fruitful collaboration established between Romania and the Balkan countries one can mention the hydroelectric projects "Iron Gates I" and "Iron Gates II," built in collaboration with Yugoslavia, the Giurgiu-Ruse manufacturer of heavy equipment, developed in collaboration with Bulgaria, the agreement to build Danubian electric stations at Turnu Magurele-Nicopol and Calarasi-Silistra, jointly with Bulgaria, the central Anatolia refinery built in cooperation with Turkey, the important cooperation ventures developed with Greece in various domains and an oil refinery built in Albania.

While developing its relations with the other Balkan countries, Romania has worked consistently for the expansion of multilateral collaboration among the states in the region in all the domains, both by promoting its own initiatives and by actively supporting and participating in a number of actions—at governmental and non-governmental level—organized in other Balkan countries. Through its initiatives, stands and proposals Romania has made important contributions to the calling, proper organization and running of the six expert reunions held over the 1976-1987 interval, of the reunion of foreign ministers of Balkan countries, held in Belgrade last year, the reunion of ministers of transports, in Belgrade, the Balkan conference in the field of tourism, in Bulgaria, the meeting of high-ranking officials of foreign ministries, in Tirana, in January 1989. Adding to these events has been a number of non-governmental activities such as the conference of university rectors, in Bucharest, the Athens session of the Balkan medical union (headquartered in Romania), the reunion of the national commissions for UNESCO, in Ankara, as well as the physics, chemistry and mathematics Balkan student games, as also sports and cultural events.

In all the interviews and reunions where they have participated, equally in the plenary meetings and in the consultations with the other delegations, the Romanian delegates have presented and promoted actively President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception, proposals and initiatives regarding a wide development of Romania's relations with all the Balkan states in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other domains, regarding strengthened bi- and multilateral collaboration. They stressed the need for all the countries to intensify their activity with a view to implementing the goals set in point of preparing the background for a meeting of the Balkan heads of state or government, in Bucharest, an action also included in the protocol of the Tirana meeting.

Alongside the other Balkan countries, Romania speaks up for a zone free of nuclear arms, chemical arms and foreign military bases, considering that only through a general measure to include all these a zone can be created to ensure the peaceful coexistence, the free economic and social development of the peoples. An important moment in this respect has been the declaration and call addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and by Hellenic prime minister Andreas Papandreu, endorsed in July 1987, which suggested holding as soon as possible a Balkan summit, in Bucharest, with a view to turning the Balkans into a zone free of chemical and nuclear arms, for the wide promotion of collaboration and cooperation, strengthened confidence, security and peace in this zone of Europe. Wide reverberation has been enjoyed by the Romanian-Bulgarian summit initiative of December 1985, on the creation of a zone free of chemical arms in the Balkans. Setting out from this initiative Bucharest hosted in December 1986 the first Balkan expert reunion on turning the Balkans into a zone free of chemical arms.

Romania is to play host to three important actions: The expert reunion of Balkan countries—approaching measures to enhance and strengthen security, a ministerial reunion to look into the prospects of cooperation in point of industrial production and transfer of technology, and the special reunion on questions related to expanding the economic and commercial collaboration among the Balkan countries.

Daily Marks 1933 Demonstrations Anniversary
AU1602183889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
1752 GMT 16 Feb 89

["Important Moment in the History of the Workers' Movement in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/02/1989—As many as 56 years have gone since the revolutionary fights fought by the Romanian workers in January-February 1933, a climax of Romania's vigorous social battles at the time of the 1929-1933 economic crisis. Evoking these ample class confrontations, on 16 February daily SCINTEIA notes them to have illustrated the might of the workers' unity, the inexhaustible revolutionary potential of the working class, and unswerving attachment to the ideas and values of socialism.

The huge wave of social fighting, sweeping the country from border to border, then gained the features of genuine national opposition to the wrongdoings of the time, of denial of the capitalist system, of the struggle for democratic renewal in the Romanian society, and for imposing a new, better, and more just system, stresses the daily. It then goes on: Standing in the first ranks of these revolutionary battles, blending immediate economic requests and political goals of ample prospects, the Romanian working class once more proved the fact that it was playing the decisive part in providing economic and social progress, that it represented the standard bearer of the struggle to materialize the peoples' fundamental aspirations, to change the Romanian society in a revolutionary way. Standing at the same time firmly in defense of the country's dignity, asserting its resolve to oppose any plans made by the imperialist

circles, by the foreign monopolies with a view to trespassing the country's sovereign rights, the working class in Romania once more illustrated its patriotism and high responsibility as concerns the country's destiny.

Fought shortly after the Nazis took power in Germany, the revolutionary battles of January-February 1933 voiced the Romanian workers' opposition to fascism and its aggressive, war mongering goals. Antifascism thus proved to be a genuine state of mind of the working class in Romania, this feeding later an ample movement at the scale of the whole country, whose sustained struggle barred for many years the accession to power of the extreme right.

Through their entire progress, through their lessons and conclusions, the ample fights of the workers in January-February 1933 scored a genuine political victory for the Romanian Communist Party. They proved that in spite of the adverse circumstances in which the party operated, its calls would find profound reverberations in the consciousness of the workers, stemming from the most stringent needs and expressing the most vivid aspirations of the working people.

Particularly important becomes the fact that that year which stands under the token of the heroic fights fought by the workers in January and February, Nicolae Ceausescu joined the communist movement, his life and activity then identifying entirely with the very existence and heroic struggle of the working class, of its Communist Party.

In the final part of the article SCINTEIA stresses that standing out in the ample series of political actions and fights, through their reverberation in the country's consciousness and in the international public opinion, are the large demonstration staged against fascism and war on the first of May, 1939, and the manifestations of protest against the odious fascist and imperialist dictat of Vienna. The working class stood at the heart of the resistance movement of the Romanian people against Antonescu's regime and against Hitler's war, and made the foundation upon which the unity of all the patriotic, progressive and antifascist forces was built and guaranteed the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944. The working class was the decisive factor in the great revolutionary changes which occurred in Romania over the ensuing period, in the victory of the socialist revolution and in the socialist construction.

17 Feb LCY Central Committee Plenum Under Way

TANJUG Preview

LD1702090989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0525 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—The 21st Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee (LCY CC) will be held here today.

The plenum will focus on the cadre renewal of the highest party organ and its presidency.

The party leaderships of republics and provinces will present their proposals for new members of the LCY CC.

According to the latest information, all the republican and provincial organisations have proposed more names than the number of posts. The total number of new members of the LCY CC will be learnt today.

The plenum should also elect six new members of the LCY CC Presidency—two from Montenegro and one each from Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The LCY CC will also discuss the reports of working groups formed at the 17th plenum with the task of examining the ideological and political responsibility of five LCY CC members—Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic and Petar Matic.

Session Opens

AU1702101889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report]

[Text] The 21st session of the LCY Central Committee started somewhat after 1000 [0900 GMT]. The main topic of the session is the cadre renewal of the Central Committee and the completion of its Presidium.

After establishing the agenda, to which, as Stipe Suvar informed the session, the report on the preparations for the 14th congress was later added, the Central Committee session opened with the report by the working group for establishing the ideopolitical responsibility of Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic.

Anton Kruljac, president of the working group, expounded on the report. He said that the working group had established all the facts and it can be concluded that there are sufficient grounds for passing ideopolitical measures on these people because of their involvement in the Neum affair.

In this connection, Kruljac suggested on behalf of the working group that the measure on relieving a person of Central Committee membership be passed on all of them, stressing that this does not call their overall contribution and personal integrity into question.

Kruljac then read a joint objection which demanded that the entire procedure be repeated, because the working group had allegedly failed to proceed according to the Central Committee conclusions. Kruljac proposed that this objection be rejected as unfounded. He also proposed that Andric's, Istuk's, Renovica's, and Stojanovic's own resignations not be accepted because they had been received with delay.

The debate on the working group's report is under way at the moment, and Nikola Stojanovic is at the rostrum.

Dizdarevic Quits LCY Post

LD1702140789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today submitted his resignation from membership of the LCY Central Committee.

As Stipe Suvar informed members of the Central Committee, Dizdarevic submitted his written resignation during the session. It contains only one sentence.

Resignation Accepted

LD1702141389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee today accepted the resignation of Raif Dizdarevic from membership of the party Central Committee.

Dizdarevic, who is the president of the SFRY Presidency, submitted his resignation in accordance with the principals on the separation of party and state functions.

Several members of the LC appealed to Dizdarevic to withdraw his resignation, but he said that he sees no reason why he should be an exception from the generally accepted rule on the separation of functions.

Matic Leaves Central Committee

AU1702132289 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report]

[Text] The LCY Central Committee session resumed its work some 15 minutes ago with a report of the Electoral Commission on the results of a secret ballot on relieving five members of the Central Committee of their membership.

On behalf of the commission, Ljubo Varoslija said that more than one-half of the total number of the Central Committee had voted in favor of Mato Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic being relieved of their membership, while only 78 members of the Central Committee voted for the expulsion of Petar Matic, and that therefore he was not relieved of his membership in the Committee. However, Petar Matic immediately tendered an irrevocable resignation.

At present, the members are discussing the resignations, submitted according to the principle of separating state from party functions, because of having had membership in the Central Committee for too long, and for personal reasons. However, one should say that the list of those who decided to take this step is not too long.

That is all from the LCY Central Committee session for now.

20th Plenum Failed To Halt 'Downfall'
AU1602155389 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
12 Feb 89 p 4

[Hido Biscevic commentary: "Continuation of Cold War"]

[Text] Only 1 week after the Yugoslav party once again demonstrated its inability to halt Yugoslavia's downfall, events confirmed that the conflicts that are leading the country into its most difficult period ever are continuing. This can be claimed for at least two reasons: Ways out of the crises were much clearer during all previous crucial periods in the new Yugoslavia, and none of them ever indicated that there was the danger of disintegration. Thus, the continuation of this drama is threatening us with dangerous explosives. Behind the new political jargon there is a roaring thunder which practically offers Yugoslavia only two solutions: the so-called synthesis on the basis of "old socialism" and the unitarian organization of relations in the federation, or a split into two different types of social organization, into two national-geographical groupings. True, there is also the most probable variant according to which we will have to go the "Polish way" in order to prove that the military solution can calm passions but cannot postpone the unavoidable process of "national reconciliation."

Does this sound like an exaggeration? One only needs to look at what happened after the 20th session, why the political truce lasted only a few days, and why the question of whether the process of achieving the so-called Yugoslav synthesis will be feasible in such circumstances is becoming increasingly topical. The continuation of the political campaign testifies to the fact that there is an ongoing clash between an aggressive political line pursued by the current Serbian leadership, which sees the future identity of Yugoslavia as exclusively tailored to its own interests, and, on the other side, the line that is dominating the political scene in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia—in this order and

in this order of determinedness. This line is increasingly openly saying that it does not want any conflicts and that it would not be interested in a Yugoslavia in which such conflicts would deliberately be imposed on it.

How Theory "Justifies" Practice

That forced conflicts exist is illustrated by the x-ray picture of the country taken only 10 days after the 20th session. For instance, calls for pogroms in the political life have intensified. We face increasing intolerance and open attacks that have been unimaginable until only a short time ago. A number of aggressive political-ideological programs, which almost openly call for the toppling of the system, have been publicly presented. It is also becoming increasingly obvious that the proponents of the current political program of the Serbian LC openly advocate—with their vision of the reform of socialism as the recycling of an old model (monolithic party, lack of democracy, statism...)—some kind of a Balkan variation of the "export of the revolution" and the "long march" in all other parts of Yugoslavia that neither share their views on the essence and meaning of the reform of socialism nor their national pretensions, and that in doing this these advocates are not choosing the means. It has become obvious that the short-lived detente proclaimed at the 20th session was only used as a break and that in the future this detente will be the subject of various interpretations depending on one's own national and ideological interests and orientations.

After all, the outcome of the 20th session is interpreted differently. So for instance, in order to create an impression of how deep-rooted the new round of intensifications is, the Serbian party leadership is trying to convince the public that the session demonstrated that "the threats of the alleged Serbian militant nationalism were false." If this impression is "false," then all the moves that were made after the 20th session were "true" and therefore justified. What is also "justified" is the continuation of an already known type of witchhunt against all individuals who dare to publicly speak against the prevailing philosophy of monolithism, as is the practice of POLITIKA which inflicted low blows to I. Druzic. Equally "justified" is the continuation of the "hunt for people" in Montenegro in which V. Micunovic and A. Kovacevic are victims today, and all those who start being disloyal to this policy will be victims tomorrow. What is also "justified" is the spreading of the psychosis of political insecurity and fear, which have not only started to spread across the country and create a pre-anarchical state of mind, but have already resulted in insecurity in one's own identity, as in the case of a Vojvodina communal party secretary who committed suicide, something that has rarely been recorded in the history of Yugoslav Communism, a kind of suicide that in other countries illustrated the real depth of their drama. What is also "justified" is the atmosphere of an increasing number of attacks, an atmosphere in which shots in the dark exchanged by political opponents are no longer suprising. It is becoming more and more

apparent that the warnings from Plav are not a dramatic enough signal that the already experienced inter-tribal strife in this country must be avoided.

Attack Against the Highest Leadership

However, just as in all societies undergoing crises, such public statements are but phenomenological reflections of deeper political currents.

After all, the coincidence of this new round of aggravation and the ideopolitical platform which was publicized recently by Mirjana Markovic-Milosevic, wife of the inviolable leader of the Serbian party, and supported by even more one-sided and direct political warnings issued by present adjutants of the said leadership, can hardly be accidental. The belief that events during the past 12 months are not logically linked and that they are not synchronized has turned out to be mere nonsense. This fact is used as proof by those people who believe that taking any "Chamberlain-like position" toward these intentions and this ideopolitical pattern can turn out to be fatal and that, since there is already something like a cold war in Yugoslavia, one should decide between the doctrine of containment and the roll-back doctrine [English words "containment" and "rollback" used followed by Serbo-Croat translations within brackets] as in the times of cold war in the divided postwar world, when the anti-Hitler "unprincipled coalition" [refers to the phrase used by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session] started falling apart as a result of different ideological platforms.

Therefore, this synchronization of events allows the said aggravation to reach the level of open threats. For what is one to expect of a situation in which the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Belgrade party organization claims that any peaceful transformation of the system has become virtually impossible! What kind of reaction can one expect from the "people's masses" when M. Markovic-Milosevic claims that, because 10 years have been wasted, the only way one can still achieve any change is "a way which is not peaceful" but does not use any political term to define the "change" in question and its program-political characteristics. Do we need anarchy or reform? After this new apologia for mass meetings—and Belgrade party "ideologists" are extolling this form of democracy now on the basis of the thesis on the direct polarization of the meetings and the LC—will one still be surprised by the mass campaigns against all communists and will this be a Yugoslav contribution to the reform of socialism? However, the tactics do not reveal everything: For the time being, the main conflict in Yugoslavia is confined to "the public, citizens, and Communists on the one side and the bureaucracy embodied in the highest leadership on the other." This should presumably mean that the target of this second wave of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution are no longer the powerful bureaucrats in communes, but the "highest leadership," and cannot

be interpreted as anything else but the most open call to overthrow the highest leadership of the country although it is not stated precisely whether it is party or state leadership and whether members from all federal units should be replaced. You can add here the assessment that "the party grassroots have already started the reform, so there is the question now whether the LCY Central Committee will side with the majority in the party," which is also an open accusation against the highest party leadership that it has become a faction separated from the grassroots. You can also add the very serious assessments that in the present conflicts the said highest leadership is on the defensive and uses the reasoning of "tyrants, military oligarchy, and grande bourgeoisie," which one also cannot help but interpret as a declaration to peoples and nationalities that this country is ruled by dictatorial cliques of Pinochet, Marcos, and Pahlavi kind. This is perfectly appropriate to the cry voiced by a participant of a Montenegrin rally who shouted into the microphone that this country is ruled by "fascists" and ended up in court. Was it not several months later?

The Viruses of an Open Program

It is obvious that what we have here is a virus in the political program which is no longer concealing its final aim. This fact is supported by the letter in which a Montenegrin candidate for the state presidency refused the honor offered to him, because he "does not want to sit and work together with individuals who destabilized the SFRY and threatened its territorial integrity" with their attitude toward the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Whatever one thinks about such accusations and personal motives for them, objectively speaking, they are only another piece in the mosaic of synchronized attacks against the "highest leaderships." Why is this so? The answer is no longer that complex: Cadre renewal in the party and elections for new members of this "infamous" highest state leadership should obviously serve as a channel for the proponents and champions of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution to get to the very top of power and therefore create a new relation of forces at the country level. With this new relationship in which the prevailing political forces think that the reform of socialism should mean returning to the Bolshevik model of party and political relations, preparations for the party congress would be carried out in a considerably different political climate with predictable program tenets and equally predictable consequences that these tenets may entail on overall social relations. Moreover, if such a relation of forces is established at the "state level"—meaning the SFRY Assembly and SFRY Presidency—preparations for the new Constitution would be tainted with the same type of political views and there would be an attempt to establish an equally recognizable type of social setup for Yugoslavia. Therefore, the party would establish "the type of socialism" and the state would establish "the type of Yugoslavia" and the entire regressive project would be concluded.

In fact, this shows that yet another division could be added to the country's existing divisions. This is a division between those forces which believe that Gorbachev will succeed with perestroika, and those which are foreseeing the crash of the reform efforts which he symbolizes. What is Gorbachev's role in the Yugoslav drama? The drama's actors are divided between those who want the reform, who see it as a historic inevitability and thus do not want to wait and see how Gorbachev has fared, and those who want to preserve the status quo until they are in the position to see what has happened in the USSR and whether the reforms are at all possible according to the "Russian formula."

In a geopolitical sense, the same division could be applied to all of East Europe. The bolder forecasts of the future developments will therefore predict that the future of and the types of socialism in the CSSR or Romania do not have to be identical, and that it will be possible to work out—on the basis of the pre-war traditions of political and economic systems, and the positive achievements of socialism—which socialist countries in Europe, from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea, will create a new type of society, pluralistic, developed, and democratic societies, the United Socialist States of Central Europe, societies that would differ from the countries of East Europe if Gorbachev's reform assumed a different form or if perestroika were stopped from creating a political grouping of countries such as the USSR, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania....

Is there a need at all to prove that the dividing line between these two possible scenarios would in fact go through Yugoslavia, and that this is a key to our enigma? Should one therefore decide to resolutely turn toward the reform of socialism, or lean toward historically obsolete solutions, even if this appeared to some people as if they were realizing their national aspirations?

Sipovac, Korosec Disagree on Congress 'Name'
*AU1602150689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Feb 89 p 4*

[B.K. report: "LCY Central Committee Decides on Congress 'Name'"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb—Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, asked to comment on the statement made yesterday by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that the next congress will be held between 15 and 20 December as a regular congress, said the following:

"I do not know which official organ or party body made the decision which Comrade Korosec conveyed to the public: that the next LCY congress will be held somewhat earlier and that it will be a regular congress. The extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC made an official and legitimate request, a request based on the LCY Statute, a request that is already known to the public. Therefore, when the next congress will be held and whether this

congress will be a regular or extraordinary congress can only be decided by the LCY Central Committee, and this will be done. Within the framework of discussions on convening the congress and the agenda and platform of this largest gathering of Communists, we will, of course, hold discussions in all sections of the LCY which, as expected, will also broach these questions."

Sipovac also said that the date for convening the congress is perhaps not all that contentious considering the fact that one needs time to properly prepare for the next congress. It should be possible to complete the preparations by next fall, or by December at the latest. As far as the demands that the congress be held as an extraordinary congress are concerned, they are serious, well explained, and well argued, and cannot therefore be facetiously rejected and ignored.

Kucan Gives Recommendations on 14th Congress
*LD1702001189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2320 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, February 16 (TANJUG)—The 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) must be thoroughly prepared, as it is a matter of choosing not only a new leadership but also a new political platform, Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan said on Thursday.

As already announced, the congress will be held towards the end of this year.

A new party program must clearly eliminate the differences in view on basic questions of the development of socialism in Yugoslavia, stressed Kucan.

He said that social reforms should be facilitated by the program of the new Yugoslav government, which announced a confrontation with statism, autarky and economic inefficiency.

Preparations for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, to be held in October or November, will be based on a document entitled "Socialism According to Human Measure", adopted at a Slovenian party conference ten months ago, and on a new document on the renewal of the League of Communists, it was underscored.

The majority of Central Committee members noted that the congresses were needed as an occasion to "end the sad series of marathon LCY Central Committee sessions with disastrous consequences" and for the "idea of political democracy to unite with market orientation in the economy."

The Slovenian party Central Committee said that the country's disastrous economic situation had been unjustifiably disregarded at the last LCY plenum late last month because of problems in some environments, the Kosovo crisis, and debates on responsibility. The session

was told that the program of prime minister-designate Ante Markovic, which is gaining must support and arousing great hopes in the country, was unjustifiably underestimated at the 20th plenum.

Slovenian Central Committee members consider the assessments that the plenum was marked with a "power struggle" to be oversimplified. In their view, the situation is much more serious, since it is a matter of different concepts of socialism, the role of the LCY, and living together in the federation. A settlement of these contradictions will be of vital importance to Yugoslavia and the LCY should show whether it can live up to this historic task, the plenum of Slovenian Communists concluded.

SFRY Assembly Explains Delays in Sentences
AU1602180489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[R.N. report on the SFRY Assembly answers to delegates' questions: "Sentences Postponed According to Law"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Feb—The serving of the prison sentences given to Ivan Borstner, France Zavrl, Ivan [Janez] Jansa, and David Tasic was postponed in accordance with the Slovene Law on Serving of Criminal Sanctions. This was stated in the answer on a question raised by the SFRY Assembly delegate Ratko Vukcevic.

All four sentenced men should have started their sentences on 21 November of last year. However, the Basic Court of Kranj accepted the view of Dr Joze Lokar of the Ljubljana Center for Mental Health and the court expert Dr Milos Kobal, according to which Borstner is unable to serve his sentence due to his obvious and serious mental disorders. The application for the postponement of Borstner's sentence was submitted by the Skofja Loka Center for Social Work which explained that Borstner's sick wife cannot look after their two daughters, who are pupils. Borstner is obliged to report to the court every 20 days and show a medical certificate stating that he is unable to serve his sentence. Let us recall that Borstner was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment, stripped of his rank of warrant officer, and lost his job in the Yugoslav People's Army.

In the view of the same court, France Zavrl's departure from his post of chief editor of MLADINA, the organ of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, could cause considerable damage to the editorial policy, the content of work, and staffing on the paper's editorial board. For this reason, Zavrl will start his sentence of 1 and 1/2 years on 7 March.

Janez Jansa, sentenced to 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment, should go to prison on 1 March. The postponement of his sentence would, as the court assessed, cause considerable damage to the Mikroada work organization in

which Jansa works. At present the work organization is involved in "major reorganization activities and a fairly large import project involving program equipment."

David Tasic, sentenced to 10 months imprisonment, will start his sentence on 27 March. The sentence was postponed because he is intensively preparing for his third year examinations at the Ljubljana Faculty of Sociology, Political Sciences, and Journalism. [passage omitted]

Assembly Members Debate Kosovo Situation

Brocilo Cites Emigration

LD1602233189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 16 Feb 89

["SFRY Assembly: Introductory Speech by Luka Brocilo"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Despite completing a significant number of tasks and measures of the Yugoslav program and the activities which have been started on them, we still cannot say that the realization has begun of the basic aims and intentions of the Yugoslav program, nor of the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, the more rapid return of those who have left it, and the settlement of those who wish to live and work in Kosovo. The causes for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo have still not been cut out and eliminated, stressed the president of the commission for monitoring the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo in his introductory speech on the realization of the program.

In 1986, 3,291 persons emigrated from Kosovo and 677 returned to Kosovo. In 1987, 2,828 persons emigrated and 907 returned. In 1988, 206 families emigrated, comprising 625 family members, as well as 1,898 individuals, that is 2,523 persons, of whom 1,824 were of employable status. Last year, 29 families, comprising 80 family members moved to Kosovo, as well as 654 individuals, that is 742 persons [as received]. Of the people who moved to Kosovo, 597 took jobs.

In the framework of the activities conducted in the SFRY Assembly for monitoring the implementation of the program, three working groups have been formed which have looked at the implementation of individual tasks from the program.

There are 60 delegates in the working groups: 36 from the SFRY Assembly and 12 each from the Assemblies of the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo, as well as 28 specialists from the SFRY Assembly and representatives of the federal organs and organizations, which have set tasks in the Yugoslav program. The working groups visited all the municipal centers in the province, a significant number of local communities, organizations

of associated labor, and organizations for social activities in the spheres of education, science, culture, health and other areas of the social structure, as well as provincial organs and organizations.

They judged this visit to have been very useful, said Brocilo, not just because of the direct insight it gave into the implementation of certain tasks, but also because it gave a comprehensive picture of the overall situation in the province, the life of the people, their problems, and their views on resolving the exceptionally difficult overall situation in the province.

The working groups of delegates made the assessment that intranational relations in the majority of social environments where relations had been relatively satisfactory, it was noticeable that they had grown significantly worse, particularly in connection with the discussion on constitutional changes. Each new excess with intranational characteristics, wherever it occurs, quickly moves to other environments, exerting a negative effect and gaining wider proportions. The activity of Albanian separatism and nationalism continues to exist in an organized and intensive form. However, individual expressions of other nationalities, Serbian and Montenegrin, for example, also occur in the same way.

The political and security situation in the province as a whole is very serious and extremely complex, and in certain environments it is getting worse. There is a tendency of the situation becoming even more strained to the point of almost complete intranational division and discord, stressed Brocilo. Hostile activity has been increased and is increasingly well organized and is reflected particularly in attacks on personal property, on the security of Serbs and Montenegrins, the distribution of various pamphlets—including those calling for armed conflicts—in the inflaming of national hatred, the crude violation of constitutional law and freedoms, constitutionality, and legality, and attacks on social property.

The assessment was made that there has been a lack of any energetic and mass condemnation of all excesses, in the first place from Albanians themselves, particularly from the intelligentsia of the Albanian nationality. In the organs of individual socio-political organizations and in some municipalities, there do not always exist united stances in the assessment and condemnation of those excesses.

In such a complex and sensitive situation and very difficult conditions, the political institutions are functioning unsatisfactorily. In certain municipalities, the organs of authority and the organizations and communities carrying out public duties are still not operating in an effective, energetic, expert, responsible, rapid and efficient way, particularly when it comes to implementing the tasks of the Yugoslav program. There is hesitation, opportunism, an easy-going, and relaxed attitude to work and such like.

The confidence of the working people and citizens in individual organs of authority and those employed in those organs has been shaken and in some places lost. There is no legal security for citizens, particularly for those of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, nor is there a belief in the effectiveness of the state and a number of its organs, in the impartiality, equity, and legality of their work. There is a general conviction that through repression [as received] by state organs, nothing important can be done for the consistent, complete, and effective realization of the Yugoslav program, both with regard to its three basic aims and to the majority of its tasks, stressed Brocilo. [Transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 3 and 4 not received]

The problem of unemployment is the most serious economic one, as well as one of the most serious social problems; it represents a very serious question. However, measures for productive employment in the province and for the employment of workers of Albanian nationality in other parts of the country have been inadequate, and those which have been undertaken have not yielded the expected results. [passage omitted]

With the aim of creating conditions for the implementation of the Yugoslav program in all environments, concrete programs of social policy should be drawn up and passed, connected with the economic development of the province, said Brocilo. Dynamic economic development represents an essential factor for the stabilization of the situation in the province, concluded Brocilo. He stressed that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins will not end if—as well as the political, constitutionalism, and legal security of each individual—their economic security is not also ensured, based on working results. In this respect it is vital to ensure that measures for the realization of the policy of the most rapid possible development of Kosovo are realized consistently and expeditiously. [passage omitted]

In the sphere of population development and family planning, it is vital to finish looking into demographic trends in the SAP of Kosovo as soon as possible and to establish programs to reduce demographic growth to a socioeconomically acceptable level, to establish concrete tasks in family planning, and to involve all institutions, organs, and organized forces in their implementation. The responsible organs of the SAP of Kosovo should make the maximum effort for the consistent implementation of an operative program of social policy, family planning, and the reduction of the enormous birth rate of the Albanian population.

Luka Brocilo concluded by saying that we must persevere on the orientations of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo to more rapidly achieve the remaining tasks and the basic goal of halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Additional Report

*LD1602225689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1513 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly on Thursday noted that the situation in Kosovo province had further deteriorated.

The situation in this province, which is a part of the Republic of Serbia, is very difficult and marked with growing inter-ethnic conflicts, a joint session of both chambers of the assembly was told.

Incidents of the nationalist character have become frequent in the province and organized, intensive activity of Albanian separatism is continuing, said Luka Brocilo, chairman of a commission monitoring the implementation of a Yugoslav programme on Kosovo.

The serious situation in the province continues to (?deteriorate), assuming the form of a complete rift on national grounds, he added.

The Yugoslav province was the scene in early 1981 of demonstrations staged by a section of its ethnic Albanian population who demanded the republic status for Kosovo as a first step towards its separation from Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania.

More than 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins migrated from Kosovo since 1981 under pressure from Albanian separatists and (?chauvinists).

Zemljarić Makes Remarks

*LD1602233889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 16 Feb 89*

["SFRY Assembly: Introductory Speech by Janez Zemljarić"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The FEC assesses that in the implementation of the program on Kosovo, certain results have been achieved, but that the basic aims of the program are not being realized, FEC vice President Janez Zemljarić said in introductory remarks at the assembly debate on the implementation of the program.

The protest gatherings in recent months have, he stressed, contributed to the further worsening of the political and security situation in Kosovo, and to the stirring up of nationalist passions, which has strengthened the feeling of insecurity and of being threatened among the population of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other nationalities, and among a significant number of members of the Albanian nationality.

These gatherings, among other things, are a result of insufficient and not always adequate political involvement by organized forces, particularly in explaining the essence of the latest constitutional and other changes in

society, and above all the proposed changes to the Serbian Constitution. This was exploited by nationalists and chauvinists from the ranks of the Albanian nationality for the purpose of politically manipulating a part of that nationality, particularly young people, Zemljarić said. He continued: The latest indications show that among the organizers of the protest gatherings and demonstrations there are also individuals from certain political, economic, and other structures. The internal affairs organs are working intensively to establish who the demonstrations' organizers were. Delegates will be acquainted with the results of this work and with the verified facts once the proceedings have finished.

Zemljarić said the FEC considers that the political stance of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is of exceptional importance. It says that the LC organizations in work and other organizations and institutions should assess the situation in the shortest possible period, establish who the instigators and organizers were of the work stoppages in those environments and of the departures for demonstrations, and that they should undertake all the necessary measures of ideopolitical and other responsibility.

Legal measures have been undertaken against persons who have spoken in a hostile way since the very beginning of the November gatherings, and their statements have been documented.

Speaking about activities for implementing the part of the program for which the institutions of the political system are responsible, that is the state organs, Zemljarić noted that following the creation of normative preconditions last year, more than 200 judges, inspectors and other specialists cadres were sent to work in the judicial, administrative, and internal affairs organs and individual work organizations in Kosovo.

Over 100 specialist workers and trainees have been sent from the province to the corresponding organs in the Socialist republic and the Province of Vojvodina.

However, although significant efforts have been made and great material resources used results achieved in extending specialist assistance and assistance in cadres have not had the expected effects. The responsibility for this lies mostly with the organs in the province, since they did not ensure the necessary conditions and carry out the essential preparations for the most effective work possible of the cadres, Zemljarić said.

All forms of extending specialist assistance to the organs and organizations in Kosovo should, in his opinion, be expanded and intensified as one of the best ways of enabling organs in the province to carry out their work more effectively, in the first place for the protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, their personal safety, and the security of their property and the strengthening of constitutionality and legality in the province.

The security organs and services bore the main burden in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and their activity in realizing the tasks from the Yugoslav program has produced positive results, Zemljarić stressed. This is the case in the sphere of eradicating the crudest attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins and their property, uncovering and putting a stop to organized illegal hostile activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and some other aspects of criminal behavior, and of maintaining public order and peace and preventing its crudest violation.

Although the majority of members of the internal affairs organs of the Province of Kosovo have displayed commitment and devotion to duty, the fact is, Zemljarić said, that we are talking about organs which are still not sufficiently expertly, trained or sufficiently numerous in cadre terms. Since the counterrevolution of 1981 they have gained expert experience, but problems associated with security have constantly grown more complex, which has diminished their effectiveness.

The combined unit of police, whose number was increased last year, has been acting successfully in the province in implementing the tasks established by the decision of the SFRY Presidency.

The adequate and timely involvement of the security services has been made more difficult by the lack of resolute political differentiation in Kosovo and the lack of timely political assessments of certain social phenomena and events and reactions to them. A particularly unfavorable circumstance has been and continues to be the poor functioning of the system of social self-protection in Kosovo, whose activity has for some time now not been appropriate to the seriousness of the situation or to realistic social and security needs, Zemljarić warned.

Taking into account the actual situation regarding the seriousness of the situation in the Province of Kosovo, it is essential to continue and increase the activity of the internal affairs organs. We must intensify the undertaking of all legal measures so as to ensure full personal safety for citizens and their property, stable public order and peace, and to eradicate criminal behavior and implement other security tasks.

In particular, we must strengthen work to uncover and put an end to counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo, the activities of specialist intelligence services and Albanian hostile emigre forces and their mutual links, and to throw light on the background of pressures on Serbs and Montenegrins, to prevent these pressures, and to uncover the fomenters of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism. We must more effectively put an end to channels for infiltrating arms and propaganda material into the country.

We must prepare and implement more modern, more effective, and more long-term programs for information and propaganda activity. We must ensure a complete and accurate picture of the Kosovo situation in Kosovo itself, throughout the country, and abroad, and of the efforts being made by the entire Yugoslav community for the social transformation and progress of this province, Zemljarić stated.

Going on to speak about the implementation of the Yugoslav program in the sphere of socioeconomic and social developments in Kosovo, Zemljarić assessed that essential changes had not been achieved, or were being achieved very slowly. This related in particular to processes for pooling labor and resources, to the economic and financial consolidation of the economy and banks, and the transformation of the policy of support of the federal fund. [passage omitted]

As essential processes were not embarked upon for pooling and improving the quality of economic activity and the transformation of the economic structure, the measures of support did not have clear positive effects, and the effectiveness of their application was very low. Parts of the federal fund were used illegally and for purposes other than those for which they were intended, and abuses in the use of foreign currency resources were also established, as a result of which a procedure has been set in motion for resolving the matter and establishing criminal responsibility. All this is one of the reasons why the indicators of socioeconomic development in the province are significantly lower than planned.

In 1988, for example, the estimated social product will be 1.3 percent lower than in 1987, whereas an increase of 4.1 percent had been planned. Industrial production is registering a fall of 0.3 percent instead of the planned increase of 4.2 percent. Employment has increased by 2.1 percent instead of the envisaged 3.1 percent. Only exports have exceeded planned growth. Other indicators have also been extremely unfavorable: the indebtedness of the economy, losses, the ability of the economy to accumulate and reproduce resources, and liquidity. On the basis of the Law on Enterprises and other changes in the economic system, the broadest possible activities should be undertaken in the province for boosting economic activities through the formation of private enterprises, various small businesses, and joint and social enterprises, Zemljarić said.

Based on the tasks of the Yugoslav program, the FEC is preparing a comprehensive, scientifically-based economic plan for the development of Kosovo which will establish the strategy and dynamics of structural changes in the economy of the province. The plan will establish the organizations which have prospects, those which should be rehabilitated, and those whose production should be changed or terminated. [passage omitted]

SFRY Presidency Discusses Economic Trends

*AU1602161889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] A session of the SFRY Presidency has been held in Belgrade. The FEC briefed the SFRY Presidency on current economic trends and on prices in particular. The SFRY Presidency's statement says:

At the end of last year and the beginning of this year, production was revived in all republics and provinces and the value of exports and foreign currency income from tourism and remittances from workers grew, thereby considerably increasing foreign currency reserves. However, this favorable trend was to a large extent devalued by a chaotic increase in prices, which has no justification and is to a great extent dependent on noneconomic factors.

The SFRY Presidency stresses that economic measures of a reforming nature must have priority in the struggle to halt and bring down inflation. The quicker and broader liberalization of imports, among other things, is within this framework.

The Presidency considers that in the present situation, until reforming measures have an effect, everyone should involve themselves as much as possible in the struggle against the unjustified increase in prices, as this most seriously threatens the population's living standard and brings into question the implementation of the economic reform. Without the creation of such a front and without waging such a struggle against high prices caused by unjustified increases in prices, it is not possible to implement the economic reform on which we have decided as a sure way of extricating ourselves from the crisis, it is said in the SFRY Presidency's statement.

Official Speaks on Possible ROK Relations

*SK1602040489 Seoul KYONGHYANG SINMUN
in Korean 15 Feb 89 p 2*

[Text] On 14 February, in a report dispatched from Seoul to YOMIURI, (Dimitrij Gruchal), chief of the Yugoslav trade office in Seoul, in an interview with YOMIURI SHIMBUN, revealed that Korea and Yugoslavia are in the process of discussing the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Chief (Dimitrij) also indicated that it is highly possible for Korea and Yugoslavia to establish diplomatic relations as early as this year.

Social Democratic Alliance's Tomsic Interviewed

*AU1602142989 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Friedrich Orter report]

[Text] A tiny office in an old building in the center of Ljubljana, a telephone that never stops ringing, posters, and a somewhat tired-out engineer who dreams of a

pluralistic system in Yugoslavia. Here France Tomsic, a former migrant worker in the FRG, has been busy for months preparing the founding of the first social democratic party in the postwar era of the SFRY, usually after he finishes his work in the Litostroj Works. The large strikes in this machine works in December 1987 were the beginning, as a political dream, what late this afternoon is to become a reality in the cultural hall of Ljubljana: the founding of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, or Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, as it is officially referred to. His organization wants to work outside the Socialist Alliance, that is to say outside this organization which is Communist-controlled. Tomsic on the objectives:

[Begin Tomsic recording] We want to introduce a normal pluralistic party system, in other words, a parliamentary democracy. [end recording]

A parliamentary democracy with free elections?

[Begin Tomsic recording] Exactly. [end recording]

According to a recent survey sponsored by the youth magazine MLADINA, the Social Democrats would receive 35 percent of the vote in free elections, the Christian Democrats 25 percent, the Slovenian Greens 19 percent, 8 percent would go to a liberal party, and just under 10 percent to the LCY. The party program of the Social Democrats further demands: referenda on political questions, the guarantee of human and basic rights, including the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, the right of conscientious objectors, a drastic reduction of the military budget, free market economy, an efficient social system, more environmental protection, independent trade unions, the full legalization of the right to strike, and the abolition of the 10-hectare ceiling for the ownership of land. Tomsic considers communism to be a mistake of mankind.

[Begin Tomsic recording] You know that officially we have the system of socialist self-management. This sounds very good and we achieved a certain success in the first years. It was then that even men such as Brandt, Kreisky, or Olof Palme paid attention to it and thought that maybe it would be a success. I can imagine that the system did appear to be human at first glance, but it has absolutely no staying power. [end recording]

If you look at possible developments in the SFRY's future, what will happen in this country if your ideas are not accepted?

[Begin Tomsic recording] Then the prospects for our country are very bleak. We will stumble from one crisis to the next. After all, I think that evolution is possible through careful changes. If we missed this opportunity a kind of dictatorship or a military dictatorship might be the result, maybe similar to what they have in Romania. This would also be very bad for Austria and all of Europe, because the situation here would then resemble the situation in Lebanon. [end recording]

A civil war?

[Begin Tomsic recording] Yes, I could imagine that. If anybody should try to oppress this Slovenian spring by force, as we call it, the effect would be very bad, even for those who are now trying to do so, the LCY, for example. [end recording]

Quite a few things are beginning to move at the political level in Slovenia. What remains to be seen is whether the Communist Party is ready to share the power and not just the responsibility.

Social Democratic Alliance Holds First Meeting
AU1602200189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] The founding meeting of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, whose program envisages a struggle for parliamentary democracy of a West European type, began a little over 2 hours ago in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana. The meeting is being attended by representatives of the Slovene Democratic Alliance and the Peasants Alliance, which also support a multiparty system; supporters of social democracy; representatives of the Slovene SAWP; curious Ljubljana citizens; and a large number of foreign and domestic journalists. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

The strategy and aims of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia are set out in about 10 points, which were explained in the introductory speech by the initiator and leader of the new political organization, the Litostroj engineer, France Tomsic.

As far as the political system is concerned, he said, the Social Democrats support a party parliamentary democracy. In the area of the economy, they see solutions in private entrepreneurship and are therefore against the prevailing concept of social ownership. They are proposing that instead of self-management, which they consider to be a utopia, the principle of participation should be introduced.

In regard to defense, Tomsic stressed that the Slovene Social Democrats support the view that military forces should be considerably reduced and a civil alternative to military service should be made possible. Apart from that, their aim is to provide national homogenization of army units for the republican military area in Slovenia, with Slovene as the language of command.

As far as international relations are concerned, the Social Democrats advocate that Slovenia and Yugoslavia should be included in Western European political, economic, technological, and cultural integrational currents.

The most interesting thing is that this program is worded in such a way as to give the impression that a multiparty system will soon be established. Therefore, France Tomsic announced that the Slovene Social Democrats will be represented in assemblies, even after the elections next year.

Since there are no legal possibilities for the independent party representation of electoral candidates from this alliance, I asked Tomsic if he intends his political organization to become a member of the SAWP. He replied that such a thing is out of the question and mentioned that the SAWP has no future in our country, just as a nonparty system is unfeasible.

He left as a realistic possibility that they will accept the offer of the Slovene Socialist Youth Association to fight elections with a joint list, which includes candidates from the Slovene Democratic Alliance and Peasants Alliance.

Convinced that the creation of a Western-type parliamentary democracy is in the cards and that a Christian Democratic party will soon be formed in Slovenia, Tomsic recommended to Communists that they remove the aureole of the vanguard, transform themselves into Eurocommunists, and form their own party if they want to operate within the framework of a parliamentary democracy.

In reply to the question of what he bases his forecasts on, Tomsic said: The deepening crisis situation in the country makes our action possible and speeds it up; therefore, we advocate the founding of Social Democratic Alliances in Croatia and Serbia, with whom like-minded people in Slovenia could enter the international scene as Yugoslav Social Democrats.

It should be mentioned that Tomsic has made contact with Austrian and West German colleagues who have refused to cooperate with the Slovene Social Democrats, explaining that they do not want to cooperate with separatists.

Over 1,000 Attend
LD1602220589 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Over 1,000 people attended this evening's founding meeting of the Slovene Socialist Democratic Alliance in Cankarjev Dom, Ljubljana. The party's action program was outlined in six short introductory speeches, which stated that the politically autonomous and independent organization is a party based on the conception of European social democratic parties. One of the basic aims of the alliance is to advocate transition from a one-party system to a parliamentary democracy, as the basis of a democratic and legal state, it was stated at the meeting. Although almost all the introductory speakers stressed the need for the newly founded alliance not to work within the Socialist

Alliance, the stance prevailed that it would not be politically wise to accept this stance at the moment and at the same time to insist on complete autonomy and equality with other political organizations.

Tomsic Concedes to Police

AU1602201289 Vienna Television Service in German
1830 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Report by Friedrich Orter on founding of Social Democratic Party of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 16 February—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] France Tomsic, founder of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, was able to convene the founding congress in the Cankar Hall only after he had stated to the police that his party will work within the Socialist Alliance, that is, within the Communist-controlled mass organization.

[Begin Tomsic recording] This was a trap for us. We have seen through it. For us, it is far more important that our organization becomes stronger and stronger every day, and that we will be an alternative to the LCY, because we cannot imagine working illegally in this situation, in this catastrophic economic and political situation. [end recording]

Joce Pucnik talks about pressure being exerted on the Social Democrats. The sociologist and founding member of this organization comments on the topical developments in Yugoslavia:

[Begin Pucnik recording] Social Democrats or, let us say writers, have not caused the ruin of the communist regime here in Yugoslavia, especially in Slovenia; a hidden, insidious counterrevolutionary has done this. And this insidious counterrevolutionary is called reality, above all, in the economy, law, and other areas. This is the counterrevolutionary and it cannot be locked up. [end recording]

Slovene SAWP Finds Alliance 'Unacceptable'

AU1602203889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Feb 89 p 3

[V. Simonovic, V. Zagorac report: "Six Conditions for Joining Europe"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Feb—"We shall join Europe only if we are capable of doing so." Joze Knez said this at the session of the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Slovenia today, and all participants in the debate agreed with him. The session dealt with the topic of Europe in the nineties, and was held as part of the preparations for the program conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, which is to address the same topic. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who took part in the debate, pointed out that what Knez said was a great truth, and listed six conditions that we shall first have to fulfill at home in order to be able to come closer

to Europe: "We must turn to market orientation energetically and quickly, and finally create the unified Yugoslav market; both these things require political pluralism. Yugoslavia will have to embark upon a full liberalization of its relations with the world in order to create conditions for reaching preferential reciprocal agreements, and, finally, the dinar will have to become hard currency."

Expounding on the reasons for preparing the SAWP program conference, Viktor Zakelj pointed out that citizens are interested in the "Europe 1992" project and that the Socialist Alliance cannot ignore the fact. One could also hear the warning (by Zeljko Jeglic) that we should not harbor any illusions that Europe is only waiting for us and that only by changing several laws shall we fulfill conditions for joining. Several participants in the debate pointed out that Yugoslavia would have to sign all European declarations on human rights because this is now a condition for cooperation between West and East, and that one should suggest to the SFRY Assembly that it should express unilateral inclination to join the EFTA.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, remarked that we should not harbor any illusions in this respect, because the Europe of 1992 will be a country of much less equality than some people may think. He added that after 1992, the EC will expand only by one more member, Norway, and only if its people vote in favor of joining. Loncar also pointed out that the EC has eight kinds of agreements, such as the agreement with EFTA members; Mediterranean agreements, including the one with Yugoslavia; and agreements with North African countries. We should get very close to the EC, he added, in fact as close as possible, but retain our political integrity. In his opinion, all this can be done through establishing dialogue with the European Council, developing cooperation with the European Parliament, deciding to join the EFTA, and doing everything that would create conditions for joining the free trade zone.

Suggestion To Pardon the "Four Men"

The Presidium was also briefed on the work and results achieved so far by the group of delegates to the Slovene Assembly chambers which was set up to make a comprehensive study of the circumstances and consequences of the Ljubljana court trial of the "four men." This report was prepared for the next assembly session. With one vote against (General Ivo Tominc), the Presidium adopted the proposal to ask that the "four men" be pardoned.

It has to be said that those people were not accused of giving the controversial photocopy to anybody, and that no real damage has been done, that is, there was no danger to the security of the state and the Yugoslav People's Army, but only an abstract danger. Some of their deeds

were undoubtedly of a criminal nature. However, one has to keep in mind that they have spent a long period of time in detention during the investigation.

This act by the SFRY Presidency would undoubtedly receive a positive reaction not only in Slovenia, but also in the broader Yugoslav democratic public, Darja Lavtizar-Bebler said in her introductory speech about this point on the agenda.

Such a Social Democratic Alliance Is Unacceptable

The assertion that the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance is an autonomous political organization and that it will act outside the SAWP as long as the LC has a privileged position in the SAWP—which was included in the alliance's program proclamation and the posters inviting everyone to its founding assembly on the day after tomorrow [16 February], which appeared in Ljubljana streets yesterday—is unacceptable for the Socialist Alliance and is incompatible with the present constitutional setup. The Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Slovenia made this political assessment at its session today, adding that it is now the duty of state organs to establish the extent to which such inclinations and appeals of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance are in conformity with the present laws.

We have clearly said that we support all forms of pluralism, but we just as clearly said that this should be a nonparty political pluralism. There is sufficient room within the SAWP for all forms of different opinions. We had talks with the members of the initiative committee for founding the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance on two occasions, and explained the role of the LC to them and the fact that the LC does not enjoy a privileged position. We invited them to join in our work, but they still remain fixed to their positions, Joze Smole pointed out.

Because Social Democrats advocate an active role in elections and in the assembly (parliamentary, as they would put it) system, and because according to the present Constitution this is impossible outside the SAWP, their inclinations are considered unconstitutional and as lacking proper legal grounds. Zoran Polc even suggested that one should energetically demand that the creation of such a party be made impossible and prevented by respective organs. Ivan Oman (president of the Slovene Peasant Alliance) did not agree with such a view and suggested that Social Democrats be sent another invitation to join the SAWP work, lest they turn into an opposition that would be difficult to prevent.

Posters inviting everyone to the founding assembly of the Socialist Democratic Alliance were taken off all Ljubljana buildings today.

Slovene LC Elects Candidates for LCY Posts

LD1602215389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovene LC Central Committee, by a majority of votes, elected Bozidar Debenjak, Janez Kocijancic, and Igor Lucovnik as candidates of the Slovene LC for membership to the LCY Central Committee. Sreco Kirm received an insufficient number of votes.

The Slovene LC Central Committee elected Borut Suklje and Boris Muzevic as candidates for membership to the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Slovene LC. Concluding this item on the agenda, Slovene LC Central Committee President Milan Kucan said among other things that it should be stressed that Stane Dolanc, Marjan Orozen and Janez Zemljarić voluntarily tendered their resignations of membership to the LCY Central Committee, and they should be thanked in a dignified and proper manner for their many years of service in the LC and its top organs.

Serbian LC Moves To Fill Party Vacancies

AU1602180089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Feb 89 p 3

[V. Krsmanovic report: "Two Places—Four Candidates"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb—At its session held today, the Serbian LC Central Committee nominated four candidates for the two places in the LCY Central Committee vacated by the LC members from this republic. They are Milos Aleksic, professor at the Faculty of Pharmaceutical Studies in Belgrade; Zoran Todorovic, secretary of the Presidium of the City Conference of the Belgrade SAWP; Vlado Stojiljkovic, president of the Workers Council of the Pozarevac Agricultural Combine; and Petar Skundric, president of the University Conference of the Belgrade LC.

Which two of these four candidates will be elected to fill the vacant places will be decided by the LCY Central Committee.

At the proposal of the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Commission for Cadre Policy, and in accordance with the established practice, the members of the Serbian LC Central Committee elected two new members to the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium: Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, who are ex officio members of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Explaining this proposal, Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Serbia LC Central Committee Presidium and the opening speaker at this session, said:

"I am convinced that their election to the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee will contribute to the creation of conditions for an effective realization of the

established policies and tasks of the Serbian Central Committee, coordination, and activities, as well as to the further unity in the LC action." Out of the 129 members (125 voted) present, 124 extended their support to Sipovac and Morina.

After they had been informed of the resignations of 26 members of the Central Committee (6 from the LC of so-called Serbia proper and 20 from the Vojvodina LC), the members of the Central Committee elected by secret ballot 20 new members out of the 30 proposed candidates from the Vojvodina LC. They are: Vladimir Antic, Radoman Bozovic, Radomir Brajkovic, Jon George, Milos Zivkov, Rada Jelinic, Dragica Kantardzic, Istvan Nadz, Ivan Neumov, Ljubomir Novakovic, Karolj Olah, Petar Ponjevic, Dragan Radakovic, Dusanka Radmilovic, Eugen Rac, Istvan Sic, Ondrej Trnovski, Macas Fador, Katalin Herceg, and Stanko Culjak.

The members also discussed the proposal of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee that Mirce Bundra, Gizele Varga, and Radovan Vukasinovic be relieved of membership in the Serbian LC Central Committee. They decided that, in accordance with Article 47 of the Serbian LC Statute, a working group be set up to examine this initiative, facts, and circumstances and to submit a report and its proposals to the Central Committee at one of its next sessions.

Speaking about the main direction of activities—these are the key problems and tasks in the sphere of social reform, halting and curbing the counterrevolution in Kosovo, attaining unity in the SR of Serbia and the ideological struggle against bureaucratic and antisocialist tendencies—Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, said that it was in fact these activities of the Serbian LC that showed that the Serbian LC was most directly joining in the realization of the 17th LCY Central Committee session's conclusions on the cadre changes and the renewal of the LC organs. The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, assessing its own tasks in this respect, has in fact initiated activities concerning the cadre renewal in the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the LC organs and bodies.

The cadre renewal in the LC of Serbia is a process that has been going on for some time, especially since the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and has been carried out on the basis of the very criteria which the LCY Central Committee insists on.

[The remainder of the item appears within a boxed passage]

Resignations

Among the 26 members of the Serbian LC Central Committee who tendered their resignations, there are 6 from the so-called Serbia proper: Suzana Argirovic, Momcilo Baljak, Spiro Galovic, Ilija Davidovic, Mladen

Dimov, and Milenko Markovic. The remaining 20 are from the LC of Vojvodina: Marija Antunovic, Vera Banic-Caric, Slobodan Budakov, Milica Dejanovic, Maksa Djuric, Nemanja Jovanovic, Rudolf Jontovic, Pavle Krnetic, Djordje Ledjenac, Zivko Marceta, Radovan Medjedovic, Marijan Pajvancic, Janko Pejanovic, Radoman Perkovic, Milka Puzigaca, Rudi Sova, Djordje Sorad, Zarko Cosic, Jan Sirka, and Luka Sojic.

Briefing the members of the Central Committee on these resignations, Slobodan Milosevic said that tendering one's resignation from membership in the Central Committee is the statutory right of every LC member and that therefore there was no need for the Central Committee to vote on this. Resignations are therefore acknowledged, and we conclude that their membership to the Central Committee has ceased to exist.

Serbian SAWP Nominates Presidency Candidates LD1602185889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Serbian SAWP Conference the following candidates for the SFRY Presidency were put forward: Borislav Jovic, Slobodan Unkovic, Aleksandar Bakocevic, and Mihajlo Milojevic. In mid-March the Serbian SAWP will select two of these candidates, one of which will then be elected by the Serbian Assembly as Serbia's representative in the SFRY Presidency.

"Regarding the candidacy of Slobodan Milosevic and Bogdan Trifunovic, who obtained the broadest support, it was concluded that, owing to the seriousness of the work they have begun in the republic, they should remain in their posts in the SR of Serbia."

Croatian LC Votes on LCY Candidates Detailed LD1602200189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the Croatian LC Central Committee voted by secret ballot on 12 registered candidates for membership to the LCY Central Committee from the Croatian LC. Seven were to be elected at this 24th plenary session.

Eighty-five members of the Croatian LC Central Committee voted. The results of the vote are as follows: Stevan Cupac (40), Milan Cubra (38), Marko Brdaric (48), Vojko Obersnel (45), Borislav Mikelic (49), Djordje Djuric (26), Josip Kregar (56), Zdenko Krajina (57), Branko Caratan (55), Milica Stanivukovic (51), Djuro Tojagic (48), and Enver Sehic (57).

On the basis of the vote, candidates for the LCY Central Committee from the Croatian LC are Zdenko Krajina, Enver Sehic, Josip Kregar, Branko Caratan, Milica Stanivukovic, and Borislav Mikelic.

Since two candidates, Marko Brdaric and Djuro Tojagic, received the same number of votes, members of the Croatian LC Central Committee will vote on them in a second round to determine the seventh candidate for the LCY Central Committee from the Croatian LC.

Agrokomerc Workers Outside Bosnian Assembly
*LD1702092289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0643 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—About 500 workers from Agrokomerc, who last night set out from Velika Kladusa in 15 buses, arrived before 0600 today in front of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly.

However, they did not want to enter the assembly chambers, but are requesting that those most responsible in the republic immediately resolve the collapse of their Agrokomerc "in full view of the public."

At this moment representatives of the republic and of the workers are attempting to find a common language so that the talks may immediately move forward toward constructive solutions.

The workers, carrying banners, are not provoking any large-scale attention from the citizens. However, they do not want to enter the assembly until they see that the conditions for their talks in the republic have been fulfilled.

Kranj Construction Workers Stage Strike
*LD1602142789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 15 Feb 89*

[Text] Kranj, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—About 250 workers at the Grabinec construction enterprise in Kranj, after a 3-day strike, today organized a protest meeting in front of the Kranj Municipal Assembly, and then set off on foot for Ljubljana. Before this, the strikers disbanded the strike committee and rejected the explanations of the managers of the work organization. In Ljubljana, in front of the Republican Executive Council, they will request fulfillment of their demands—an increase in personal incomes, which are at present about 1 million dinars on average.